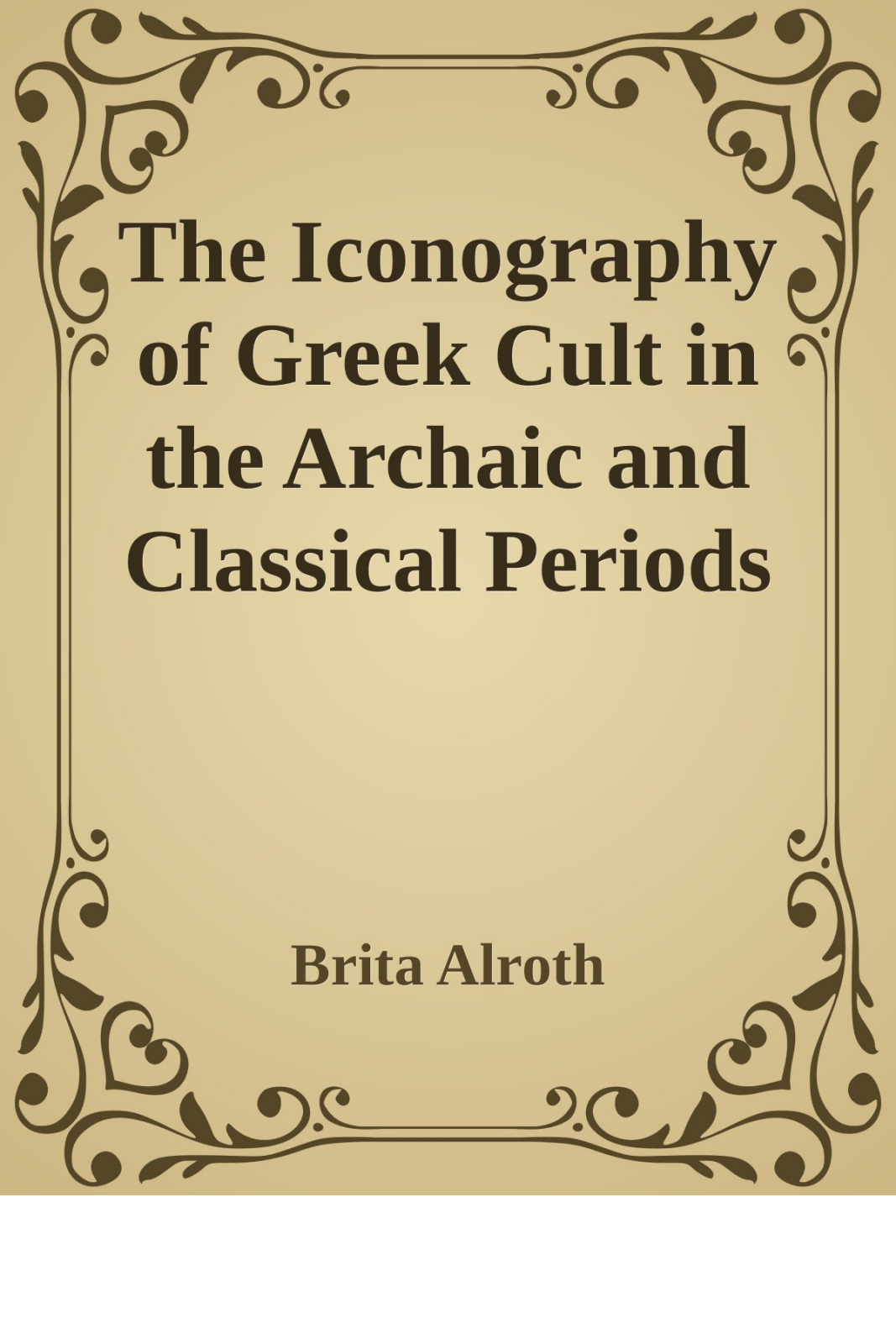


A decorative border with symmetrical floral and scrollwork patterns in a dark brown color, framing the central text.

The Iconography of Greek Cult in the Archaic and Classical Periods

Brita Alroth

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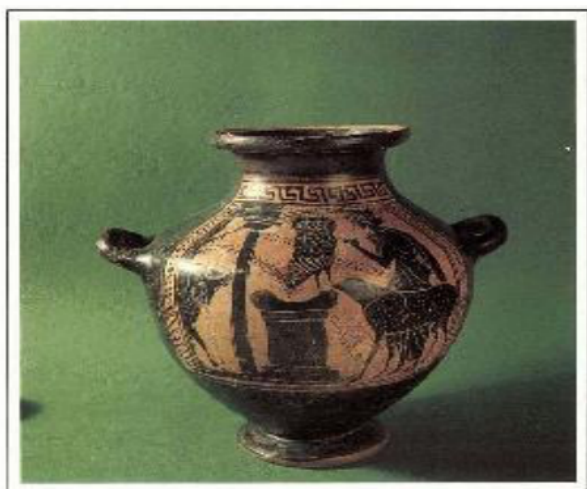
Supplément 1

The Iconography of Greek Cult in the Archaic and Classical Periods

Proceedings of the First International Seminar on Ancient Greek
Cult, organised by the Swedish Institute at Athens and the Euro-
pean Cultural Centre of Delphi (Delphi, 16–18 November 1990)

edited by

Robin HÄGG



Centre d'Étude de la Religion Grecque Antique
Athènes – Liège

1992

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Publisher : Presses universitaires de Liège

Year of publication : 1992

Published on OpenEdition Books : 6 May 2013

Serie : Kernos suppléments

Electronic ISBN : 9782821828926



<http://books.openedition.org>

Electronic reference:

HÄGG, Robin (ed.). *The Iconography of Greek Cult in the Archaic and Classical Periods: Proceedings of the First International Seminar on Ancient Greek Cult, organised by the Swedish Institute at Athens and the European Cultural Centre of Delphi (Delphi, 16-18 Novembre 1990)*. New edition [online]. Liège: Presses universitaires de Liège, 1992 (generated 17 December 2013). Available on the Internet: <<http://books.openedition.org/pulg/175>>. ISBN: 9782821828926.

Printed version:

Number of pages : 230

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Foreword

Robin Hägg

1

For the understanding and interpretation of the religions of times past, the religious imagery of those cultures has always been an important source of information, besides the written sources (if at all available) and the ever richer archaeological material. The pictorial representations are, however, more often than not problematical for the interpreter who belongs to a different culture and tends to see them through “perceptual filters” which are not the same as those of the ancient viewer (Ch. Sourvinou-Inwood). As regards the religions of the ancient Mediterranean world, and especially of Greece, there is currently a strong interest among scholars for the study of the religious iconography and for developing methods leading to a deeper understanding of cult practices and beliefs. It was therefore natural to choose the topic of “Iconography of Cult” for the first international seminar jointly organized by the European Cultural Centre of Delphi and the Swedish Institute at Athens. The aim of this first meeting was to promote the understanding of ancient Greek cult of the Archaic and Classical periods through the presentation of new evidence and new interpretations – of vase-paintings, figurines and cult images – to be discussed during a three-day meeting in the congenial atmosphere of the Cultural Centre at Delphi.

2

Ten of the thirteen papers delivered at the Seminar are published here in enlarged and annotated form, whereas one, by Folkert van Straten, is presented only as a summary and two others (those of Kevin Clinton, “The *omphalos* at Eleusis”, and Olga Palagia, “Cult and

allegory: the life story of Artemidoros of Perge”) are being published elsewhere.

3

I wish to thank Dr. Charilaos Guitakos and Dr. Ioannis Loucas of the European Cultural Centre of Delphi for coorganizing the Seminar and for the splendid hospitality offered to all participants at the Delphi Centre. I am also most grateful to Professor André Motte for accepting to publish the proceedings of the Delphi Seminar as the first supplementary volume to *KERNOS* and to Mme Vinciane Pirenne-Delforge for seeing it through the press. Finally I wish to express my gratitude to the Society of the Friends of the Swedish Institute at Athens and to the Carl Lambert Endowment for generous support towards the present publication.

4

Athens, January 1992.

5

The abbreviations of titles of periodicals and standard reference works are those recommended by the *American Journal of Archaeology*, 95 (1991) 4-16.

Changing Modes in the Representation of Cult Images

*

Brita Alroth

1 The title of this article, changing modes in the representation of cult images, promises more, I think, than I can deliver. At the present time, I have more questions than answers – questions that have arisen from the representations of cult images, or possible cult images, in different media.

2 In this paper I will concentrate on vase paintings, but will briefly touch upon some representations on reliefs.

3 I have relied, of course, on the articles written by K. Schefold and E. Bielefeld.

1

However, I hope that this survey is not just a repetition of their statements. When looking for representations of images i have, for instance, not limited myself to the Attic vase paintings as did Schefold and Bielefeld, but have also included South Italian examples.

2

Since this is work in progress there are many gaps which hopefully will be filled in later. Only a small part of the material can be dealt with here. With this study I will test one method of approach to see if it is worthwhile to pursue it further.

4 Regarding the representations of cult images a number of questions may be asked: are there any differences in the representations of the

various deities when depicted as statues; are there differences in the representations of the same god in different scenes; are there only certain gods that appear as cult images, and do some of them appear only in particular situations, or may all gods be shown as cult images; can we correlate actual images with those depicted?

5

The first task is to decide if a representation on a vase or a relief, or for that matter in any media, should be regarded as a picture of a statue and more specifically a cult image.

3

The dividing line between representations of deities in “person”, or as a statue, or as in some way reflecting a statue, is in many cases very vague.

4

I will include some questionable examples, where it may be argued that the painter or sculptor wanted to depict the god or goddess in person. On the other hand, I do not think that one can totally dismiss the possibility that a representation of a deity reflects the cult image even when the god is not shown as a statue. Schefold has spoken of “die lebenden Statuen”.

5

The deities are statuesque in appearance but move and interfere in the events portrayed. The only way to determine with more certainty that a statue is intended is when the base, that some of them occupy or in some cases have left, is depicted. I will not go further into this question now and will merely mention a few examples of this kind. Another difficulty is the identification of a picture as a specific, actual cult image.

6

The material may be divided according to the situation depicted and the way the deity is shown, that is, mythological scenes, cult scenes, and depictions of the deity alone. The last category is represented by figurines and depictions on coins.

7

If we restrict ourselves to mythological and cultic scenes they may be subdivided and this can be done in various ways. In the mythological scenes, one may ask in which myths the representations of cult images appear, in which part of the myth told, and so on? In some mythological scenes the depiction of the divine statue or cult image is

necessary for the telling of the story. It is what Schefold called “Bilder von Statuen die durch den Inhalt der Darstellung gefordert werden”.

6

Ajax assaulting Cassandra who takes refuge by the image of Athena, and the theft of the Palladion, are examples of such representations. To a lesser degree also Menelaos pursuing Helen, who takes refuge at an image, and the Tauric Artemis may be counted among these representations. From one period to another, the same event is rendered in various ways and the image changes in appearance.

8

In other mythological scenes the cult image does not necessarily play any part. The scene may be not only mythological but also cultic; that is, a sacrifice is shown in a mythological context. In other instances the image may act as a setting for the scene.

7

I do not know if this disqualifies the image from being regarded as a cult image. Of course, not a specific cult image but a generic one.

9

The cultic category can also be subdivided. The cult scenes may show different situations: sacrifice, processions, dances, prayer, tending the image, and so on.

The mythological scenes

10

I mentioned earlier the mythological scenes where the image is necessary for the story and now I will discuss some of these examples. The representations of the Ajax and Cassandra episode alter with time, not only in style but also in other ways that changes the tone of the representation.



Fig. 1a. Cassandra seeking help by the image of Athena. Olpai, Paris, Cabinet des Médailles 181, From *LIMC* 7.



Fig. 1b Cassandra seeking help by the image of Athena. Olpai, Leiden PC 54.
From *CVA Leiden 2*.

11

On the black-figure vases, Athena is shown more as a living goddess although we know that Cassandra sought refuge at the image of Athena (Fig. 1a-b).

8

Goddess and image are in a sense one. Athena is depicted life-size as Promachos and as large as Ajax. Cassandra is often much smaller and sometimes partially hidden by Athena's shield. The combatants, Athena and Ajax, are meeting each other more or less face-to-face

and Cassandra has almost been reduced to a subordinate person. With the Kleophrades Painter the situation is somewhat different (Fig. 2).

9

Athena is still turned towards Ajax and brandishing her spear against him, but she is more similar to a Palladion with her feet closer together. Cassandra is kneeling down under the shield but is more conspicuous. As time goes by, and this is a very popular theme, much used by the South Italian vase painters, the image of Athena becomes smaller, sometimes standing on a high base, or a high column. She is depicted as a real statue, usually in a frontal position. Cassandra is clasping the image (Fig. 3).

10

It appears to me that in these representations the protective force of the goddess is diminished. In some cases, one gains the impression that the goddess, when in the form of a statue, is totally uninterested in the events that take place around her. Sometimes she has her back turned towards the pleading Cassandra, and in no way confronts Ajax.

11

Does this indicate the outcome of the episode?

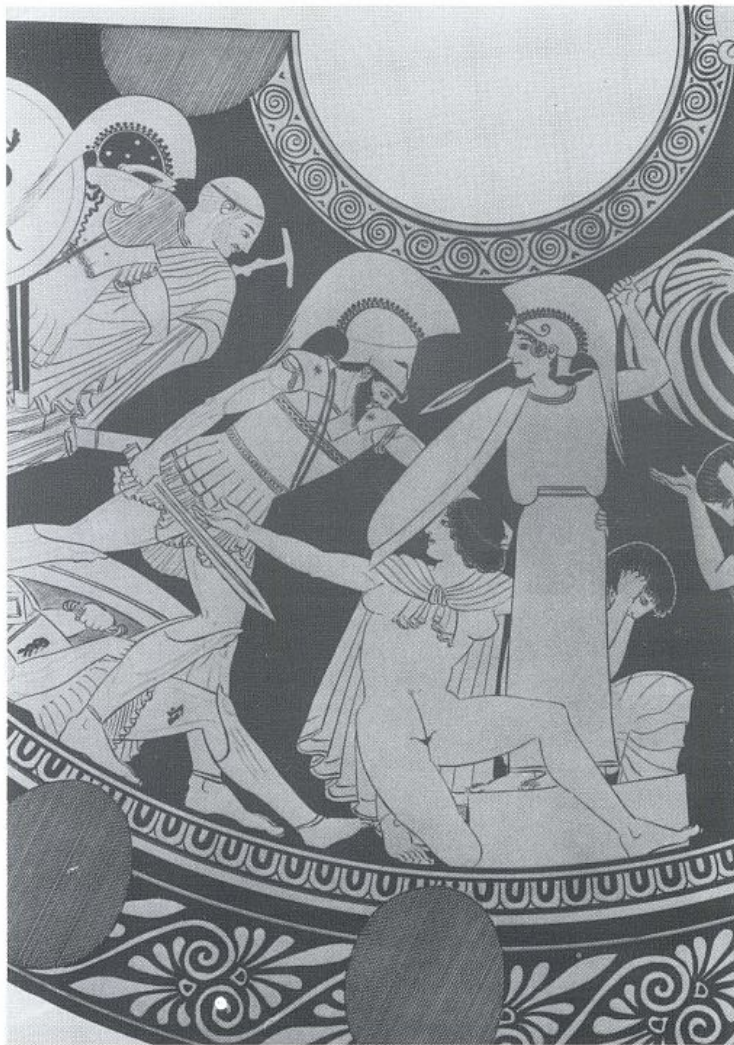


Fig. 2. Cassandra at the feet of Athena's image, Hydria by the Kleophrades Painter, c. 480 B.C. Naples, Mus. Naz. no. 8166,9 (H 2422). From FR I, Pl. 34.



Fig. 3. Cassandra by the image of Athena standing in the temple, To the right Athena sitting on a rock. Apulian kalyx-krater, 360–350 B.C. Taranto no. 52.665. From *LLMC II*.

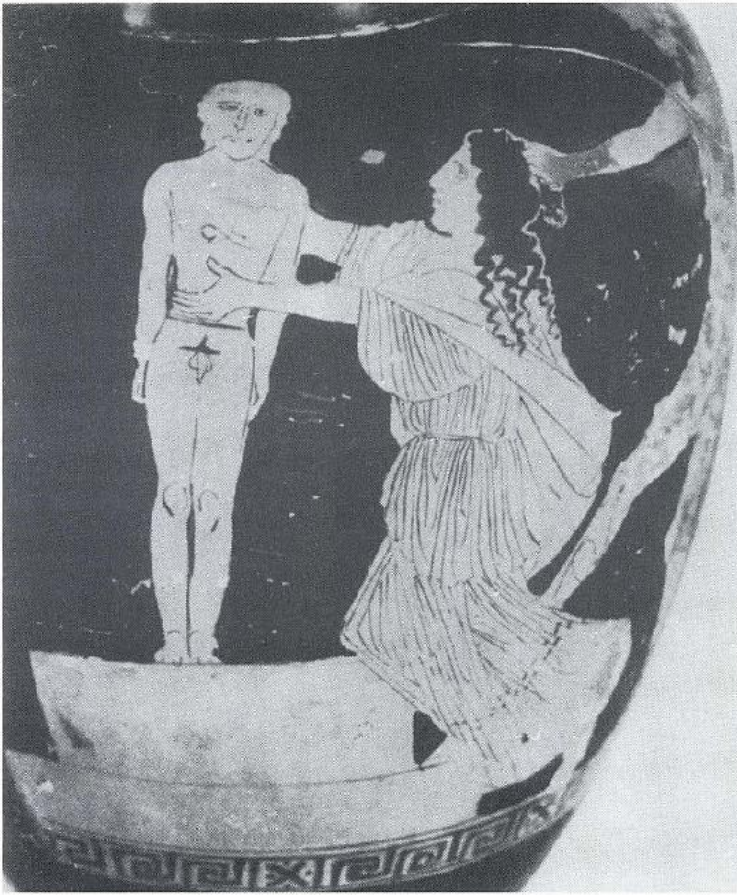


Fig. 4. Helen by the image of Apollon. Neck-amphora. London, British Museum E 336, c. 450. From Simon, *Götter*, Fig. 116.



Fig. 5a. Helen running towards the image of Apollon. The god is standing in person by the altar. Volute-krater, 460–455 B.C. Bologna, Museo Civico Pell. 269. From *CVA Bologna* 5.



Fig. 5b. Athena. Volute-krater, 460–155 B.C. Bologna, Museo Civico Pell. 269.
From *CVA Bologna* 5.

12

In the case of Menelaos and Helen (in some instances the interpretation of the characters involved is not quite certain) Apollon or a male deity is depicted. On an amphora from the middle of the fifth century, Helen clasps the image of the god who is shown as a kouros with the arms close by the sides; the archaizing features are quite clear (Fig. 4).

12

On a slightly earlier vase by the Niobid Painter depicting the same event, Apollon is shown standing on a Doric column behind an altar (Fig. 5).

13

His stance reminds one of the Kritios boy. This scene is an example of

another trait that appears on several vase paintings, which we have met earlier; beside the image stands Apollon in person.

14

In both instances he carries a laurel twig; the image is also holding a phiale. Helen is advancing towards the statue, but the god himself intervenes. The Athena that attends the scene is depicted as rather statuesque and could perhaps be regarded as a “lebende Statue”.

13

The Palladion in the scenes with the theft of the image from Troy is, of course, always small and doll-like and more or less archaic or archaizing.

15

14

Another story where the image is essential is Orestes who takes refuge from the Erinyes at an image of Athena in Athens. On Fig. 6 the goddess is shown more as a high Classical statue than as an old Palladion, which one would perhaps expect, since the image is called *bretas* in the ancient literature, which might indicate a rather simple, old image.

16

15

To return to Apollon a gruesome story in which the god appears as a statue is that of Laokoon and his sons. In a couple of representations, we see Apollon standing on a base and at his feet are the severed limbs of Laokoon’s unhappy son. The serpent winds itself contentedly around the image (Fig. 7).

17

The image of Apollon is rather stiff and similar to a kouros statue, especially on a bell-krater; on the fragment from Ruvo the god is resting his weight on his right leg. On the krater, Apollon is holding a bow, and on the fragment, a phiale in his right hand.



Fig. 6. Orestes sitting by the image of Athena. Apulian bell-krater, 415–390 B.C. Berlin, Staatl. Museen 4565. From *LIMC* II.

16

To turn to another god, Zeus is represented only in a few instances. Whether he should be regarded as a cult image since he is shown by an altar though standing on a column, or as a votive statue, as has been suggested, is a matter of contention.

18

However, his appearance in the scene shown in Fig. 8 is unnecessary, even if he may have had his own reasons to attend the finding of the egg from which Helen was born.

19

The god is standing naked, holding a sceptre in his left hand and a bowl in his right. His stance and appearance are those of a Classical statue.



Fig. 7. Laokoon's dead son lying at the feet of the image of Apollon, lb the right the god in person holding the same attributes as the image. Lucanian bell-krater, c. 430 B.C. Basel, Antikenmuseum, Coll. P. Ludwig. From LIMC II.

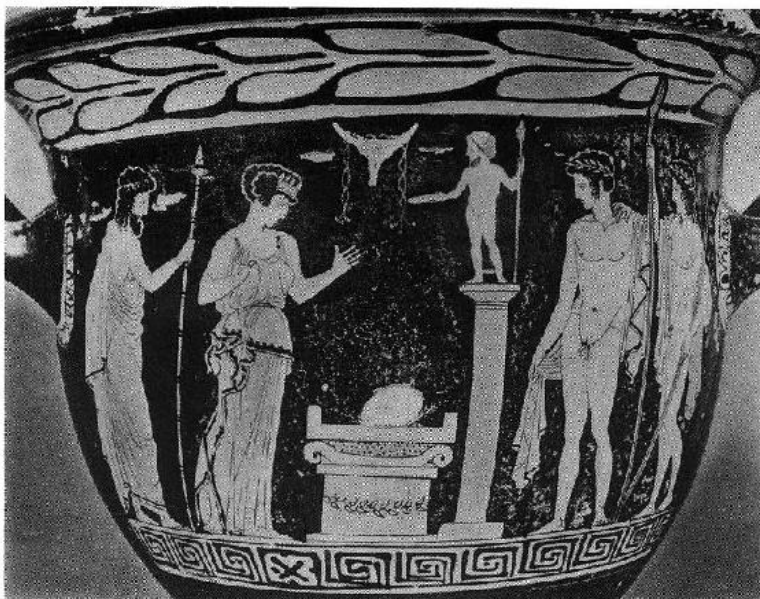


Fig. 8. The image of Zeus attending the finding of the egg with Helen. Bell-krater, c. 425 B.C. Bonn, Akad. Kunstmuseum 78. CVA Bonn.

In two cases he is shown in different attires at Priamos' death, standing on a high pedestal.

At the murder of Aegisthos, he stands on a high column with an eagle and a thunderbolt similar to the representations of the striding Zeus (Fig. 9), common as statuettes and on coins.

21

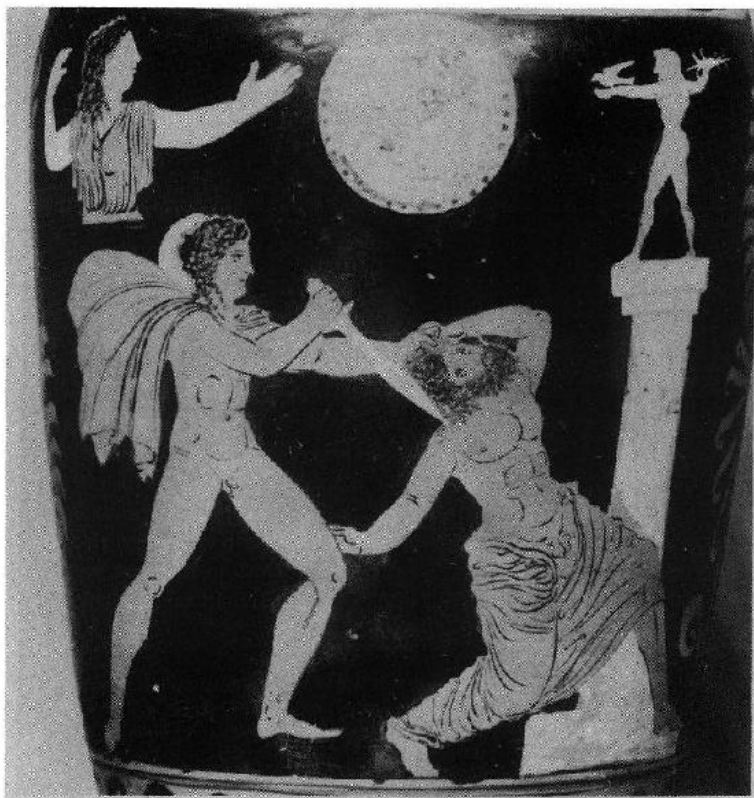


Fig. 9a. The murder of Aegisthos by the image of Zeus. Campanian neck-amphora, c. 330–320 B.C. Berlin, Staatl. Museen 3167 VF From *LLMC I* and Degrassi.

18

On a vase, where the sacrifice of Oinomaos is depicted, a Zeus of the striding type on a column is again used.

22

One could argue that this scene is set at Olympia, where such representations of the god were common votives both as statuettes and as statues set up in the precinct. Is it equally possible to argue that the image functions in the picture as a cult image, although none of this type existed in the sanctuary? On the reverse of British Museum F 278 with the same motive, Zeus is shown standing, dressed in chiton and himation and holding a sceptre.

It should be noted that none of the vases show the statue made by Phidias or the old warrior god standing in the Heraion.



Fig. 9b. The murder of Aegisthos by the image of Zeus. Campanian neck-amphora, c. 330–320 B.C. Berlin, Staatl. Museen 3167 VI. From *LIMC* I and Degrassi.

The appearance of Zeus in the form of a statue in the scene with Oinomaos' sacrifice is not surprising. The sacrifice can, however, also be performed in front of an image of Artemis, as on a vase from 380/70 B.C. (Fig. 10).

The pose and attire of the goddess should, as in other instances, probably allude to an old image. She is standing on a high column behind the altar and is holding a phiale and a bow, something that recurs in other representations of the goddess. Artemis appears also in person and as a cult image on a high base on an Apulian krater from the middle of the fourth century showing the Rhodope story (Fig. 11).

25

The image looks old-fashioned here too. It holds a phiale in the left hand and a torch, barely visible, in the right.

20

The Tauric Artemis is represented on several vases, on which she stands in or in front of a naïskos.

26

The image of the goddess is shown almost life-size and half life-size as well as archaistic and more “modern”. To depict the cult image in a naïskos is very common on South Italian vases. Of the examples I have gathered so far only one is Attic.

27



Fig. 10. The sacrifice of Oinomaos. The image of Artemis standing by the altar. Bell-krater, 380/370 B.C. Naples, Mus. Naz. H 2200. From FR iii, pl. 146.



Fig. 11. The image of Artemis standing on a high base and the goddess in person sitting on the altar. Apulian kalyx-krater, 340–330 B.C. Basel, Antikenmuseum S 34. From *LIMC* II.

21

Aphrodite is seen in person and as a statue on the well known vase by the Meidias Painter showing the abduction of the daughters of Leukippos (Fig. 12).

28

In variance to the Aphrodite sitting at the altar, the probable cult image is also here shown in a rather stiff frontal position probably alluding to an old cult image, though the painter has not quite refrained from giving the lower part of the image a slightly swinging attitude. A South Italian vase with the same scene shows a more sturdy image without the narrowing of the dress at the feet (Fig. 13).

29

On the latter vase the goddess is holding a phiale in her right hand and a sceptre in her left. Other vase-paintings show Aphrodite standing in a stiff frontal position with her feet together. In one case she is holding phialai in both hands, in another she raises her hands, probably with the palms turned outwards (Figs. 14–15).

30

An Aphrodite more or less of this type is seen on many lekythoi from Athens which are interpreted as showing special cult images in the city, those of Aphrodite Urania.

31



Fig. 12. The rape of the Leukippidai. Aphrodite sitting by the altar and the image of the goddess standing on a high base. Hydria by the Meidias Painter, end of the fifth century B.C. London, British Museum E 224. From FR I, PL 8.



Fig. 13. The daughters of Leukippos taking refuge by the image of Aphrodite. Apulian volute-krater, 400–375 B.C. Ruvo, Museo Jatta 1096. From *LMC II*.



Fig. 14. Image of Aphrodite. Squat lekythos, late fifth century. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum 1966.714. From *LMC II*.

The gesture, with palms turned outwards, which is also made by the Meidian Aphrodite with the left hand, is made by another image that is often referred to as an example of a cult image depicted in vase-painting. On a number of vases we see Herakles sacrificing to Chryse. On some of them there are inscriptions which secure the identification. Behind an altar built of boulders, the image is placed

on a high column. It is stiff and frontal. Fig. 16 shows the vase, now in Vienna, from the end of the fifth century.

32

The image is draped in a richly embroidered dress and wears a spiked crown. The goddess lifts her arms and turns the palms outwards with spreading fingers. The image is shown in the same position in representations of the same scene on other vases and it has been suggested that an actual image lies behind this representation.

33



Fig. 15. Image of Aphrodite. Squat lekythos, early fourth century, München, Städt. Antikensammlung V.I 2264, From LIMC II.

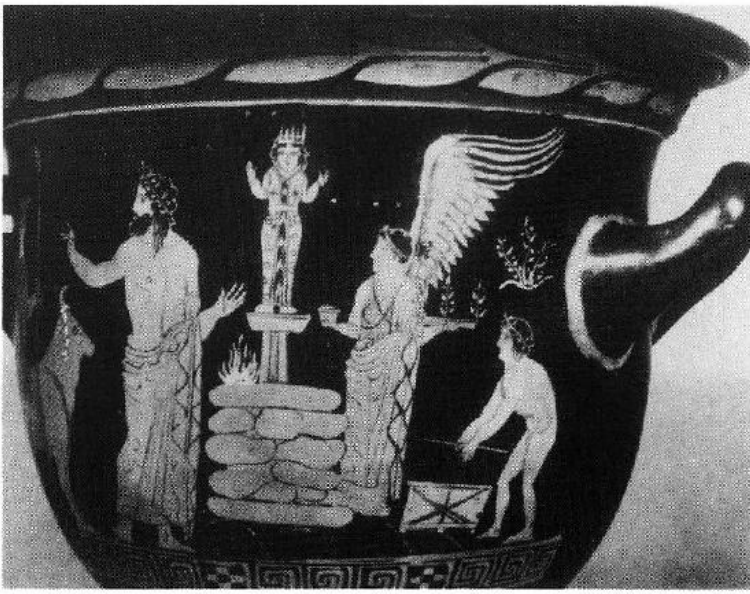


Fig. 16. Herakles sacrificing to Chryse. Bell-krater, end of the fifth century B.C. Vienna, Kunsthist. Museum IV 1144. From CVA Wien 3.

23

The archaizing features are apparent in many cases, as we have seen, and it has been argued that this is due to nostalgia and also a new feeling for the old religion at the end of the fifth century, when this type of representation became popular.

34

The type lived on, however, and is very popular in the fourth century in the South Italian repertoire. Has it become a topic, a standard version? It is possible to compare with the Athenas on the Panathenaic amphoras and other representations with an archaistic flavour to denote an old image or a cult image as such. What about contemporary images? Were they not depicted? Or are they the “living statues”?

24

There are both similarities and differences in the representations on the Attic and the South Italian vases. In both cases the positioning of the image on a high base or column, often at an altar, is used. The *naïskos* is, however, far more common in the South Italian material.

Cult scenes

The last example was Herakles sacrificing. This leads us to the cult scenes. I will refer to only a few examples, and begin with a Boeotian plate with a procession, an altar and Athena standing behind the altar; a column is also seen (see Scheffer, Fig. 7).

35

I am quite aware of the fact that this may not be a representation of a cult image, just as is the case with the Athena on the vase in Berlin (see Nordquist, Fig. 3b).

36

I will not go into the question of Athena's early image on the Acropolis, even if there is the possibility that the vase representations were inspired by a statue.

37

These depictions of Athena, just as the black-figure ones with Kassandra, show the goddess life-size. As yet, I do not have any example of Athena on a column at a sacrifice. Such an Athena (it has been suggested that it is a votive statue) is seen with a man standing in prayer in front of the image (Fig. 17).

38



Fig. 17. Man praying in front of an image of Athena. Oinochoe, c. 450 B.C. From Richter.



Fig. 18. Sacrifice to Apollo. Bell-krater, 440–425 B.C. Frankfurt a.M. VFB 413. From CVA Frankfurt 2.

26

On the other hand, Apollo appears on a column behind an altar. He is depicted in profile awaiting the sacrifice (Fig. 18).

39

The vase is from the middle of the fifth century. The god is shown as rather stiff, standing with the feet close together. However, he does not give a completely kouros-like impression. On Fig. 19 we see Apollo seated in a rather leisurely manner on a throne in a shrine.

40

He is holding a laurel twig. Does this represent a statue, since he is pictured inside a temple, with the throne standing on a base, awaiting

a sacrificial procession? He seems more like a “god in person” and could be regarded as “living statue”.



Fig. 19. Apollon sitting on a one-stepped base between two columns. Volutekrater, 440–430 B.C. Ferrara, Mus. Naz. 44894 (T 576 VP). From De Miro.

27

A well known Apulian fragment shows Apollon sitting on the ground and the statue of the god standing inside the temple, holding a phiale and bow (Fig. 20).

41

Though the posture of the statue is relatively stiff, the muscles are well depicted on this vase from the early fourth century. There is thus a tension between his stance and the execution of his body.

28

We have not yet met Dionysos. On the so-called Lenaion vases he is shown as a pole on which a mask and a dress are hung, often standing by a table where libations, offerings and dances are performed (Fig. 21).

42

In one instance, we have a more conventional representation of the god's cult image standing by a table and altar awaiting the sacrifice of a goat. The image is stiff and frontal, wearing a polos, and holding a

kantharos and a thyrsos staff (Fig. 22).

43

29

Hermes in the form of herms is, I think, the most common representation of an image as the focus of a cultic event (Fig. 23).

44

Many of the gods when depicted as statues are shown at a sacrifice, but there are also other representations, such as dancing and tending the image, as on a Corinthian vase (if it is a cult image as suggested by Romano),

45

but the herms appear more often in various cult manifestations, such as sacrifices, prayer, dancing etc. So far there seems to be a difference between the deities when they are represented in a cult scene and when shown in mythological contexts.

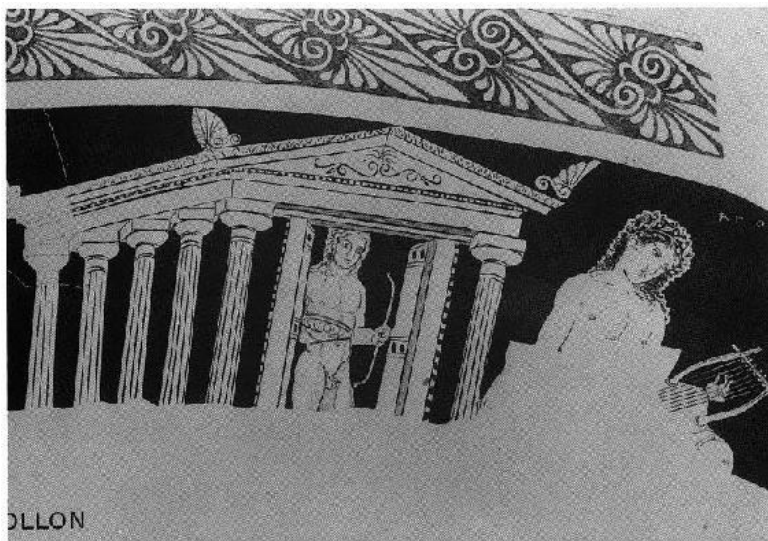


Fig. 20. The image of Apollon standing in a temple and the god in person sitting outside. Kalyx-krater, 400–385 B.C. Amsterdam, Allard Pierson Museum 2579. From FR III, Pl. 174.



Fig. 21. The masked pole of Dionysos by the libation table, Stamnos, 420/410 B.C. Naples, Mus, Naz, 2419, From FR I, Pl.36.

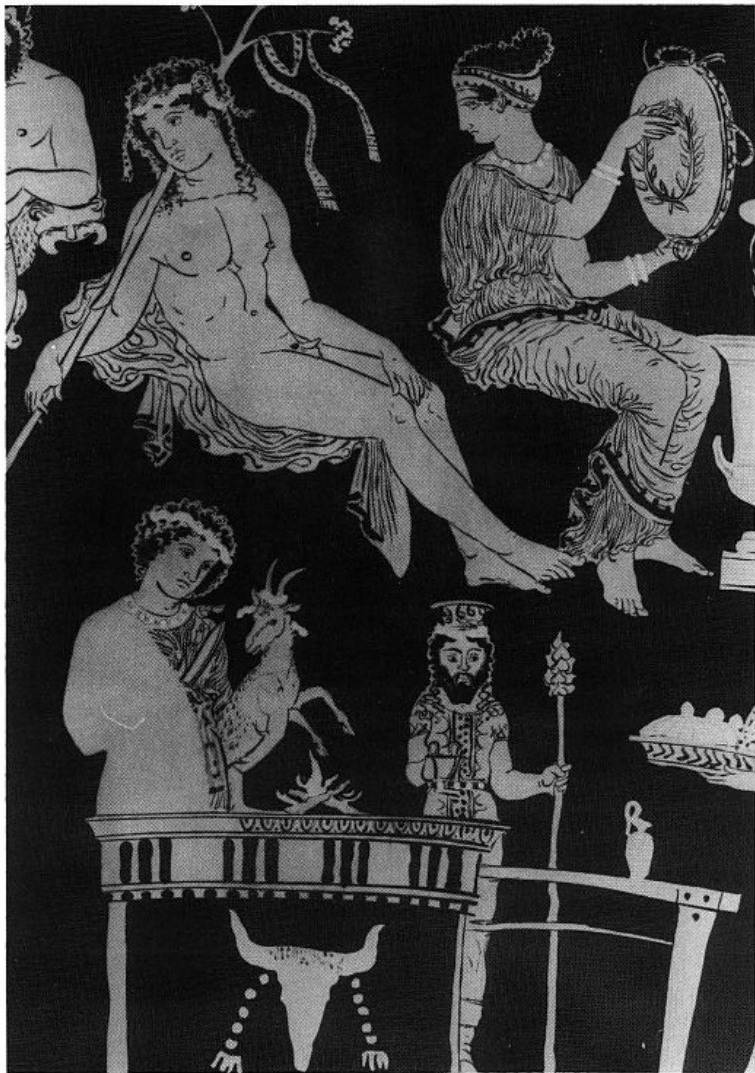


Fig. 22. The image of Dionysos standing by the altar and the god in person sitting on the ground above. Apulian volute-krater, c. 400 B.C. Naples, Mus. Naz. 82922 (II 2411). From FR III, Pl. 175.

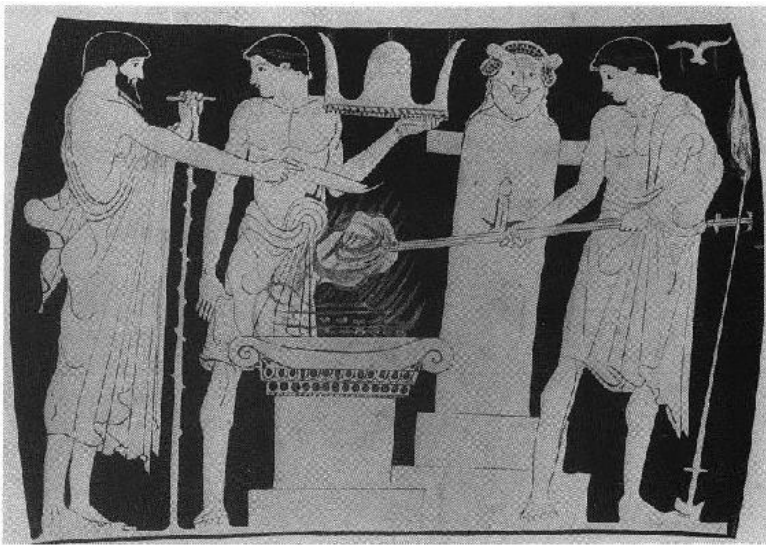


Fig. 23. Sacrifice to Hermes. Column-krater, c. 460. Naples, Mus. Naz. From Pfuhl, *MuZ*, Fig. 477.



Fig. 24. Asklepios and Bendis. Votive relief from Piraeus, late fourth century B.C. Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek 462. From *LLMC II*.

There is, on the whole, rather few images in cult scenes. I do not know if we should expect a greater number. Perhaps it was more in keeping with the Greek perception of the deities not to show them in the form of statues but to represent them in person at a sacrifice. The frequency with which different gods appear in mythological scenes

may, on the other hand, depend on the popularity of the story told.

31

To add a brief comment on images or reflections of cult images on reliefs, I will mention a couple of votive reliefs showing Artemis and Asklepios. The deities are not shown as statues, that is standing on bases, on the examples given (Fig. 24).

46

However, for Asklepios, at least, there is a rather strong case for seeing a reflection of a statue or cult image in the representation of the god.

32

To compare the representations of statues on vases with those on reliefs – and in this case it ought to be with those representations which I refrained from discussing, namely the “living statues” – is not easy. There is one thing that may be of interest, however, barring all the instances that I have yet to study. On the votive reliefs, perhaps depending on the conventions for that genre, the gods very often appear far larger than the human beings, their devotees. On the vase paintings the gods and devotees are of a more similar size. Or, if the deities are represented as “real” cult images, they are smaller than the devotees, especially, of course, when they are placed on a high column. Does this tell us anything about the relationship between the worshippers and the deities? Or is it merely conventions that rule the representations in these different media? It should, however, be pointed out that on one relief, the image is depicted as sitting in a naskos and smaller than the goddess in person that is seated beside the naïskos (the votaries are not preserved).

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To conclude, I think that it is possible to see some differences between the gods, *e.g.*, in the frequency in which they appear as cult images. So far (I must stress that I have not looked through the whole material, and, therefore, no statistics can be made), Athena, Apollon, and especially the herms seem to be more often depicted: Apollon and Athena in the mythological scenes, depending on the popularity of the themes where they appear, and the herms perhaps as a very familiar representation which was close at hand. On special types of vases we meet other gods as well; Dionysos on the Lenaion vases and

Notes

1 Schefold, “Statuen”; Bielefeld, “Götterstatuen”. Romano, *Cult images*, *passim* and 455–464 (a catalogue of vase paintings with representations of probable early cult images), has thoroughly discussed the representations of cult images in various media.

2 In this case I have used, among others, K. Schauenburg, “Zu Götterstatuen auf unteritalischen Vasen”, *A4* 1977, 285–297; G. Schneider-Herrmann, “Kultstatue im Tempel auf italischen Vasenbildern”, *BABesch* 47 (1972) 31–42. Moret, *Ilioupersis*, became available to me after I had delivered this lecture. He discusses several of the issues which I had raised. Schefold and Bielefeld have referred to South Italian vases but their central theme is Attic vase painting.

3 For a discussion of what constitutes a cult image see Romano, *Cult images*, and *eadem*, “Early Greek cult images and cult practice”, in *Early Greek cult practice. Proceedings of the Fifth International Symposium at the Swedish Institute at Athens, June 26–29 1986*, eds. R. Hägg, N. Marinatos & G.C. Nordquist (*ActaAth-4**, 38), Stockholm 1988, 126–133.

4 This question has been discussed by several scholars, *e.g.*, Schefold, “Statuen”, 33; Bielefeld, “Götterstatuen”, 379; Romano, *Cult images*, 22–24; H. A. Shapiro, *Art and cult under the tyrants in Athens*, Mainz am Rhein 1989, *e.g.*, 27–36.

5 Schefold, “Statuen”, 33, 58–67; Bielefeld, “Götterstatuen”, 385, n. 39. See also Shapiro (*supra* n. 4), 27f. (for earlier black-figure).

6 Schefold, “Statuen”, 33.

7 Together with an altar it may be used to denote the place of a cultic event, to denote an outdoor sanctuary. See, *e.g.*, R Miller Ammermann, “ΣΤΥΑΙΤΑΙ in Magna Graecia: a coroplastic contribution to the history of columnar statue bases”, *RdA* 11 (1987) 25–33, esp. 27. That this is the case especially with statues on a column was argued at the colloquium. The image should not be regarded as a cult image in the real sense. I am, however, not totally convinced. That a cult image could be placed on a column is shown by the old image of Hera that stood on a column in the Argive Heraion. It could be argued, however, that the image, which was brought from Tiryns to Argos, acted more as a votive image in its new home and that it stood inside the temple, not outside by the altar. The question then arises, if it is possible to interpret the scene as a cult image taken out from the temple to be present at the

sacrifice at the altar. We know that images were carried out of the temple on special occasions, for bathing etc. but were they taken out to the altar? However, whether this sometimes occurred or not, might it not be possible to look upon the image by the altar in the representations on the vases as a cult image in the situation depicted?

8 Two black-figured olpai: Paris, Cabinet des Médailles 181. CVA Paris, *Bibliothèque Nationale* 1, Pls. 34:7 and 35: 1 (= France 7, Pls. 318–319); *Paralipomena*, 19.3:4; *LLMC* I, 340, no. 36, Pl. 257 = my Fig. 1a, permission requested; J Davreux, *La légende de la prophétesse Cassandre d'après les textes et les monuments* (Bibl. de la Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres de l'Université de Liège, 94), Liège & Paris 1942, 149, no. 79, Fig. 58; and Leiden PC 54 from Vulci of the Dot-ivy class, 530–520 B.C. CVA Leiden, *Rijksmuseum van Oudheden* 2, PL 82 (= Netherlands 4, Pl. 176) = my Fig. 1b, permission requested; Davreux, *op. cit.*, 145, no. 69, Fig. 38. For further examples *LIMC* i, 34(f), nos. 16–35. 38–42, Pls. 253–258. On no. 38, PL 257, *ibid.*, a hydria from 515–510 by the Priamos Painter in a private collection, Athena is shown more as a statue, smaller in proportion to the other figures than on the earlier vases but probably standing on a base (there is a lacuna in the vase) and therefore dominating the scene. K. Schauenburg, “Hiupersis auf einer Hydria des Priamosmalers”, *RM* 71 (1964) 60–70, PL 4; *Paralipomena* 147, no. 30; Moret, *Ilioupersis*, 12, n. 6. Davreux has gathered and discussed the representations of the Cassandra episode. For the Italic representations of the episode see Moret, *Ilioupersis*, 11–27.

9 The so-called Vivenzio-hydria, Naples no. 8166,9 (H 2422). ARV2, 189, no. 74; *Paralipomena*, 341; *LIMC* I, Ajax II, 341, no. 44, Pl. 259; Pfuhl, *MuZ*, Fig. 378; Bielefeld, “Götterstatuen”, 379.

10 Taranto, no. 52.665, Apulian kalyx-krater, close to the Painter of the Birth of Dionysos, 360–350 B.C. RVAp I, 39, no. 24; *LIMC* I, 343, no. 55, Pl. 261 (= *LIMC* H, 967, no. 93, PL 713 = my Fig. 3, permission requested); Arias, *RivIstArch* n.s. 4 (1955) 111: 18, 113, Fig. 22; Moret, *Ilioupersis*, 11, no. 3, Pls. 2–3. A similar representation, Naples, Mus. Naz. 82.923 (11.3230), Apulian volute-krater, the Milan Orpheus group, c. 350. *LLMC* I, 343, no. 56, Pl. 261; RVAp I, 421, no. 43; Moret, *Ilioupersis*, 11, no. 4, Pls. 4–5. (On these kraters we also see Athena in person.) Other examples *LIMC* I. 343–345, nos. 54–77, Pls. 261–265, p. 347, nos. 95 and 97, PL 268. Moret also notes the difference in size and the tendency to depict the image as an *image*, Larger statues or more life-like representations can be seen on early red-figured vases, e.g., on an Attic plate, dated 520–510 (*LIMC* I, 342, no. 51, Pl. 260; ARV2, 163, no. 4), where the goddess confronts Ajax in the black-figure tradition. On no. 53 (*LLMC*), a Campanian amphora from c. 350 B.C. (Capua 7554, CVA Capua, *Museo Campano* 1, Pl. 22 [= Italia 11, Pl. 530]; Moret, *Ilioupersis*, 11, no. 10, Pl. 12:1) Athena is standing in a relaxed pose by the altar on which Cassandra takes refuge. For an Athena on a high column see Moret, *ibid.*, Pls. 16:2, 17: 2, an amphora in British Museum, BM 1948.10–15.2 and on a high base on an Etruscan krater in Mainz, *LIMC* I, 347, no. 91, PL 268; Moret, *ibid.*, 40f, Pl. 18: 2. The scene on the last mentioned vase is not quite certain, it could

also represent Helen and Menelaos.

11 One example is Ferrara VP T. 1.36, Attic or Italic red-figured volute-krater, 400–390 B.C. *CVA Ferrara* 1, Pl. 13: 1 and 4 (= Italia 37, Pl. 1657); *LIMC* I, 347, no. 91, Pl. 268. Another where the goddess turns her head away is an Apulian volute-krater, London British Museum F160 by the Ilioupersis Painter, c. 350 B.C. *LIMC* I. 343, no. 59. Pl. 262; Moret, *Ilioupersis*, 11, no. 2, Pls. 8 and 10:1. the interpretation of the scene as the goddess turning away depends on the identification of the persons involved and this is by no means clear.

12 London, British Museum li 336, Attic red-figured neck-amphora from Capua, by the Dwarf Painter. *CVA British Museum* 5, III Ic, Pl. 65: 2a (= Great Britain 7, Pl. 315): ARV2, 1010, no. 4; Schefold, “Statuen”, 44, Fig. 7; Simon, *Götter*, Fig. 116 = my Fig. 4; *LIMC* II, 189, no. 5, Pl. 182 = *LIMC* IV 550, no. 358, Pl. 355. Another vase where Helen is running to the image of the god is seen on an Attic neck-amphora by the Berlin Painter, Vienna, Kunsthist. Mus. IV 741, c. 470 B.C. ARV2, 203, no. 101; *CVA Wien* 2, Pl. 56:1–2 (= Österreich 2, Pl. 56); *LIMC* II, 189, no. 6, Pl. 182; Schefold, “Statuen”, 46. Apollon is seen in profile in the manner of a kouros without any attributes but with a “fuller” body, more pronounced breast and buttocks. Helen takes refuge also at the images of other deities, e.g., that of Athena. Three examples: Attic red-figured oinochoe from Vulci, Vatican, Museo Gregoriano Etrusco 16535 (11525), 430–425 B.C. (ARV2, 1173; *LIMC* IV, 543, 272bis, Pl. 340) and two Apulian volute-kraters, Zurich, Galleri Nefer (RVAp, suppl. 1, 151, no. 21a, Pl. 29:4, end of 4th century) and Berlin, Staatl. Museen 1968.11, 350–340 B.C. (RVAp I, 475, no. 3; *LIMC* II, 141, no. 1482, Pl. 144 = *LIMC* IV, 351, no. 359; Moret, *Ilioupersis*, 31, no. 17, pls. 22–23). On an Apulian volute-krater, Helen runs to the image of Aphrodite. London BM F 278, 320–310 B.C. (RVAp II, 931, no. 118; *LIMC* IV, 351, no. 360, Pl. 355 = *LIMC* II, 141, no. 1483, Pl. 145; Moret, *Ilioupersis*, 31, no. 7, Pl. 21:2; K. Schauenburg, “Zur Symbolik unteritalischer Rankenmotive”, *RM* 64 (1957) Pl. 40: 1 where the old restorations are still to be seen). On the London vase there are two other scenes depicted which belong to the Ilioupersis cycles, Ajax and Cassandra and the death of Priam (see below).

13 Bologna, Museo Civico Pell. 269, Attic red-figured volute-krater, 460–455 B.C. *CVA Bologna, Museo Civico* 5, Pl. 102:3–4 (= Italia 33, Pl. 1476) = my Fig. 5, permission requested; ARV2, 559, no. 8; *LIMC* IV, 541, no. 250, Pl. 336 = *LIMC* II, 240, no. 446, Pl. 218; Schefold, “Statuen”, 46; Bielefeld, “Götterstatuen”, 380, η. 8. The same scene is shown on a rather damaged kalyx-krater from Spina, Ferrara, Museo Nazionale 2895 (T 936 VI) by the Niobid Painter, 450–440 B.C., where one can see the remaining parts the image of Apollon on a Doric column. The god is standing with his right hand on his hip and with a bow in his left hand. In front of Helen stands the god himself holding a laurel twig. *CVA Ferrara* 1, Pl. 16 (= Italia 37, Pl. 1660); ARV2, 601, no. 18, 1661; *Paralipomena* 395; *LLMC* IV, 544, no. 281, Pl. 342. One can compare the image on a Lucanian pelike (*LLMC* II, 214, no. 241, Pl. 104; *LCS*, 55, no. 283, Pl. 25:5).

14 We will meet this trait in other examples. It occurs also, as we have seen, on the Apulian kraters from Taranto and Naples (*supra* n. 10 and Fig. 3) where Athena is sitting beside the shrine where Cassandra is seeking help at the goddess's image. Athena is looking towards the event but in this case she does not intervene. Also on the Ferrara krater (*supra* n. 13).

15 See *UMC* II, 968, nos. 103–106, Pls. 714–715 and *LIMC* III, 401f., nos. 23–32, Pls. 286–287 for a few examples. Also Moret, *Ilioupersis*, 71–84, Pls. 29–41.

16 Berlin, Staatl. Museen 4565, Apulian bell-krater by the I Hearst Painter, 415–390 B.C. *RVAp* I, 12, no. 32; *LIMC* II, 969, no. 116, PL 716; Moret, *Ilioupersis*, 165f. no. 108, PL 91: 1; R. R. Dyer, “The evidence for Apolline purification rituals at Delphi and Athens”, *JHS* 89 (1969) PL 5:8 = my Fig. 6, permission requested.

17 Basel, Antikenmuseum, Coll. P. Ludwig, Lucanian bell-krater by the Pisticci Painter, c. 430 B.C. *LIMC* II, 217, no. 273, PL 206 = my Fig. 7, permission requested; Schauenburg (*supra* n. 2), 294f., Fig. 10; Romano, *Cult images*, 457, no. 10; *LCS*, suppl. 2, 154, no. 33a; A. D. Trendall, *Early South Italian vase-painting*, 1974, 28, A 27. Ruvo, Museo Jatta, fragment of an Apulian krater. *LIMC* II, 292, no. 883; Schauenburg, *op. cit.*, 294; P. Moreno, “Il realismo nella pittura greca del iv secolo A.C”, *RivIstArch* n.s. 13/14 (1964/65) 27–98, esp. 38, Fig. 9; L. Séchan, *Études sur la tragédie grecque dans ses rapports avec la céramique*, Paris 1926, 160ff.

18 Miller Ammermann (*supra* n. 7), 26f.

19 Bonn, Akad. Kunstmuseum 78, Attic bell-krater from Gnathia by Polion, c. 425. *CVA Bonn*, Pls. 19: 1, 20:2, 4 (= Deutschland 1, Pis. 19–20) = my Fig. 8, permission requested; *ARV2*, 1171, no. 4; *LIMC* III, 583, no. 185, PL 471; Cook, *Zeus* I, Fig. 206; Bielefeld, “Götterstatuen”, 382; Schefold, “Statuen”, 46f.

20 London, British Museum F 278 (for references see *supra* n. 12). Cook, *Zeus* I, 39, n. 2, PL 4:2; Moret, *Ilioupersis*, 47–50, no. 7, PL 20: 2; *RVAp* II, 931, no. 118. Zeus is dressed in a short himation or a short tunic and is holding a sceptre in his right hand; he is resting on his right leg. Louvre K 88, Apulian amphora by the Casque Painter, c. 310. *RVAp* II, 910, no. 12, Moret, *Ilioupersis*, 47–50, no. 20, Pls. 26:1, 27:1. On this vase the god is draped in a long himation. He is shown in a frontal position and looks massive.

21 Berlin, Staatl. Museen 3167 VI, Campanian neck-amphora by the Ixion Painter, 330–320 B.C. Cook, *Zeus* I, 39f, Fig. 11; *LIMC* I, 374, no. 22, PL 290 = my Fig. 9a, permission requested; N. Degrassi, *Lo Zeus stilita di Ugento* (*Archeologica*, 25), Roma 1981, PL 31b = my Fig. 9b; *LCS*, 338, no. 785, PL 131; 2; Moret, *Ilioupersis*, 174, no. 115, PL 93; 1.

22 London, John Soane museum 101L (= V538), Apulian krater, the “Cawdor vase”. Cook, *Zeus* I, 39, PL 5; *RVAp* II, 931f., no. 119; Degrassi (*supra* n. 21), 131, PL 60b; Moret, *Ilioupersis*, 49, n. 13; Miller Ammermann, 27.

23 London, British Museum F278 (*supra* n. 12). Cook, *Zeus* I, 38f., PL 4:1; *RVAp* II, 931, no. 118, PL 365: 3; Moret, *Ilioupersis*, 49, n. 13, 50.

24 Naples, Mus. Naz. H. 2200, Attic bell-krater by the Oinomaos Painter from S.

Agata de' Goti. ARV2, 1440, no. 1; LIMC II, 736, no. 1441; Schefold, "Statuen", 52; Bielefeld, "Götterstatuen", 384; Metzger, *Représentations*, 323, PL 39; 4; Simon, *Götter*, 161, Fig. 146; Romano, *Cult images*, 461, no. 24. Moret, *Illioupersis*, 34 and n. 14, claims that any statue will do in these mythological scenes.

25 Basel, Antikenmuseum S 34, Apulian kalix-krater by the Darius Painter, 340–330 B.C. RVAp II, 501, no. 64; LIMC II, 731, no. 1391, PL 560 = my Fig. 11, permission requested; M. Schmidt, A. D. Trendall & A. Cambitoglou, *Eine Gruppe apulischer Grabvasen* (Veröffentl. des Antikenmuseums Basel, 3), Mainz 1976, 97 and n. 351, PL 25.

26E.g., Moscow, Mus. Poushkin 504, Apulian kalix-krater, Circle of Darius Painter, 350–340 B.C. RVAp II, 478, no. 8; LIMC II, 729f., no. 1379; Séchan (*supra* n. 17), 386, Fig. 114; A. D. Trendall & T. B. L. Webster, *Illustrations of Greek drama*, III. 3 30 (a); Romano, *Cult images*, 461, no. 25; F. Graf, "Das Götterbild aus dem Taurerland", *AntW* 10: 4 (1979) 36, Fig. 4. Paris, Louvre K 404 (L 112, N 2771), Campanian bell-krater, School of Errera, 330–320 B.C. LIMC II, 729, no. 1375, PL 559; LCS, 321, no. 702; Trendall & Webster (*ibid.*), III. 331; Romano, *Cult images*, 462, no. 26. St Petersburg, Hermitage 1715 (St. 420), Apulian krater, Baltimore Painter, c. 320. RVAp II, 863, no. 18; LIMC II, 729, no. 1378, PL 560; Graf, *op. cit.*, Fig. 2; Séchan (*ibid.*), 385, Fig. 113.

27 Ferrara, Mus. Naz. 3032, Spina T 1145, kalix-krater, the Iphigeneia Painter, 400–380 B.C. S. Aurigemma, *Il Reale Museo di Spina*, 220, PL 118; LIMC II, 729, no. 1376; ARV2, 1440, no. 1; Metzger, *Représentations*, 287, no. 39, PL 39:3; A4 1932, 459, Fig. 3; Schefold, "Statuen", 50; Bielefeld, "Götterstatuen", 383; Graf (*supra* n. 26), 36, Fig. 3; Romano, *Cult images*, 460, no. 20.

28 London, British Museum E 224, hydria, end of fifth century B.C. CVA *British Museum* 6, III Ic, Pls. 91–92 (= Great Britain 8, Pls. 366–367); ARV2, 1313, no. 5; LIMC II, 14, no. 41, PL 7; Pfuhl, *MuZ*, Fig. 593; Schefold, "Statuen", 52; Bielefeld, "Götterstatuen", 382f.; Romano, *Cult images*, 457, no. 11; L. Burn, *The Meidias Painter*, Oxford 1987, 22, 26, Figs. 3, 5a–b.

29 Ruvo, Museo Jatta 1096, Apulian volute-krater, Sisypheos Painter, 400–375 B.C. Trendall (*supra* n. 17), 48, no. B 48, PL 18b; LIMC II, 14, no. 42, PL 8 = my Fig. 13, permission requested; Romano, *Cult images*, 461, no. 23; H. Sichtermann, *Griechische Vasen in Unteritalien aus der Sammlung Jatta in Ruvo* (Bilderhefte des Deutschen archäol. Instituts Rom, H. 3–4), Tübingen 1966, 35, PL 61.

30E.g., Oxford, Ashmolean Mus. 1966.714 (MM 80) (earlier the Beazley collection), Attic red-figured squat lekythos, Manner of the Meidias Painter, late fifth century. ARV2, 1325, no. 51; LIMC II, 14, no. 44, PL 8 = my Fig. 14, permission requested; Langlotz, *Aphrodite*, 30, PL 6: 4; Bielefeld, "Götterstatuen", 382f.; Metzger, *Représentations*, 43, no. 9; Romano, *Cult images*, 458, no. 12; Burn (*supra* n. 28), 26, Fig. 13d. München, Staatl. Antikensammlung VI 2264, polychrome squat lekythos, early fourth century. LIMC II, 14, no. 52, PL 8 = my Fig. 15. In both these cases Aphrodite is life-size. A goddess, that may be Aphrodite, is shown somewhat under life-size and in the same position as on the lekythos in München, that is with both hands raised

and turned outwards, on an Attic red-figured hydria, Naples, H 2912, Meleagros Painter, c. 390. ARV2, 1412, no. 50; LIMC II, 14, no. 48; Langlotz, *Aphrodite*, 30f., PL 6:5; Bielefeld, "Götterstatuen", 388; Schefold, "Statuen", 52f., Fig. 12; Romano, *Cult images*, 463, no. 31; F. van Straten, "Did the Greeks kneel before their gods?", *BABesch* 49, 1974, 183, Fig. 31. Further examples LIMC I, 13f., nos. 45–53, Pls. 8–9.

31 Langlotz, *Aphrodite*, 29f; Bielefeld, "Götterstatuen", 382f., 388. Bielefeld sees in the representations of Aphrodite "copies" of the images of Aphrodite Urania in her different shrines at Athens. Schefold, "Statuen", 52f.

32 Vienna, Kunsthist. Mus. IV 1144, bell-krater from S. Agata de' Goti, end of the fifth century. CVA Wien 3, Pl. 118: 5–6 (= Österreich 3, Pl. 118) = my Fig. 16, permission requested; ARV2, 1188; LIMC III, 280, no. 2, Pl. 222; Bielefeld, "Götterstatuen", 381, η. 16, 384, Fig. 2; Schefold, "Statuen", 50; E. M. Hooker, "The sanctuary and altar of Chryse in Attic red-figure vase-paintings of the late fifth and early fourth centuries B.C.", *JHS* 70 (1950) 35, no. 2, Fig. 2.

33 Other examples are: St Petersburg 43F, pelike attributed to the Kiev Painter, ARV2, 1346:1; LIMC III, 280, no. 4, Pl. 223 (= Athena 532); Hooker (*supra* n. 32), 35, no. 4, Fig. 4; Schefold, "Statuen", 50–52, Fig. 11; Romano, *Cult images*, 458, no. 14. Taranto, Mus. Naz. 52399, kalix-krater, Manner of the Pronomos Painter, late fifth century. ARV2, 1337, no. 4; LIMC III, 280, no. 3, Pl. 222; Schefold, "Statuen", 50–52; Hooker (*op. cit.*), 35, no. 3, Fig. 3; Romano, *Cult images*, 458, no. 13. On the Taranto vase, as well as on the fragment of a bell-krater in London, BM E 494, c. 430 B.C., only the lower part of the image on the high column is preserved. Since the sacrifice is performed by Herakles on an altar built of boulders, it is probable that Chryse is depicted also on these vases. For the London fragment see *JHS* 9, 1888, Pl 1; ARV2, 1079, no. 3; UMC III, 280, no. 1, Pl. 222; Schefold, "Statuen", 50–52, Fig. 10; Hooker (*op. cit.*), 35, no. 1, Fig. 1; Romano, *Cult images*, 458, no. 15. The goddess appears in the same position also in another scene, that depicts Philoktetes being bitten by the snake on Lemnos. Louvre G 342, kalix-krater from Agrigento by the Altamura Painter, 460–450 B.C. CVA Louvre 2, III I d, Pl. 4: 2 (= France 2, PL 98); ARV2, 590, no. 12; UMC III, 280, no. 6, Pl. 223; Schefold, "Statuen", 52, n. 2; Bielefeld, "Götterstatuen", 380f., Fig. 1. Louvre G 413, stamnos by Hermonax, 460–450 B.C. CVA Louvre 3, III I d, Pl. 18: 1 (= France 4, PL 179); ARV2, 484, no. 22, 1655; UMC III, 280, no. 7 (= UMC I [Agamemnon], 265, no. 43, pl. 196); Bielefeld, "Götterstatuen", 380f. On the stamnos the goddess is named Chryse. Bielefeld suggested that the image was a "copy" of the cult statue in Hephaistias on Lemnos (*ibid.* 386–388). I will not enter into the question of whether the image on the vases depicts a real image or not. However, I believe that a cult image is intended.

34 Bielefeld, "Götterstatuen", 399f; Burn (*supra* n. 28), 22. It is a comparatively short period during which we have more certain representations of images on Attic vases, from c. 470–370 B.C., according to Bielefeld, "Götterstatuen", 397f. (this does not include representations of the Palladion).

35 London, British Museum B 80. CVA *British Museum* 2, III H e, PL 7: 4b (= Great

Britain 2, PL 65); *LIMC* II, 1011, no. 586; Pfuhl, *MuZ*, Figs. 169–170.

36 Berlin 1686, Attic black-figured amphora, c. 550. *ABV*, 296, no. 4; *LLMC* II, 1010, no. 575; J. Boardman, *Athenian black figure vases: a handbook*, London 1974, Fig. 135.

37 This is a much discussed topic which I treated in *Greek gods and figurines. Aspects of the anthropomorphic dedications* (Boreas. Uppsala studies in Ancient Mediterranean and Near Eastern civilizations, 18), Uppsala 1989, 48–54. See also Shapiro (*supra* n. 4), 24–27, 32.

38 New York 08.258.25, Attic red-figured oinochoe, Group of Berlin 2415, c. 450. *ARV2*, 776, no. 3; G.M.A. Richter, *Red-figured Athenian vases in the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, New Haven 1936, Pl. 88, no. 84 = my Fig. 17; Schefold, “Statuen”, 46, Fig. 8; Bielefeld, “Götterstatuen”, 380; T. B. L. Webster, *Potter and patron in Classical Athens*, London 1972, 131, PL 14; Romano, *Cult images*, 456, no. 5.

39 Frankfurt a.M. VFB 413, Attic red-figured bell-krater, the Hephaistos Painter, 440–425 B.C. *CVA Frankfurt* 2, Pls. 77–78:2 (= Deutschland 30, Pls. 1468–1469) = my Fig. 18, permission requested; *ARV2*, 1683 (1113, no. 31bis); *LLMC* II, 216, no. 272, Pl. 206; *AA* 1910, 460–463, Figs. 4–5; Schefold, “Statuen”, 46; Bielefeld, “Götterstatuen”, 381; Romano, *Cult images*, 457, no. 9. On *LIMC* II, 298, nos. 952–955, Pl. 266 the god himself stands by the altar with a laurel staff.

40 Ferrara, Mus. Naz. 44894 (T 57C VP), Attic red-figured volute-krater, Kleophon Painter, 440–430 B.C. *ARV2*, 1143, no. 1; *LIMC* II, 220, no. 303, Pl. 208; E. De Miro, “Nuovi contributi sul Pittore di Kleophon”, *ArchCl* 20 (1968) 238, Pl. 89 = my Fig. 19; *La cité des images. Religion et société en Grèce antique*, Mont-sur-Lausanne 1984, Fig. 73. One can also compare the seated Apollon on a bell-krater from Agrigento by the same painter, end of the fifth cent., where the god sits on a throne within a temple holding a laurel staff (De Miro, *ibid.*, PL 85). In this case the throne does not stand on any base. In front of the god we can see an altar with preparation for the sacrifice. Both these pictures have been interpreted as a sacrifice in the Delphic sanctuary.

41 Amsterdam, Allard Pierson Museum 2579, kalyx-krater, 400–385 B.C. *RVAp* I, 36, no. 10, Pl. 9: 2a–b; *UMC* II, 239, no. 428, Pl. 216; Schefold, “Statuen”, 48f.; Schneider-Herrmann (*supra* n. 2), 31–34, Figs. la–b; Romano, *Cult images*, 460, no. 22.

42 *E.g.*, Berlin, Charlottenburg F 2290, Attic red-figured kylix by Makron, c. 480 B.C. *CVA Berlin* 2, Pls. 87–88 (= Deutschland 21, Pls. 1016–1017); *ARV2*, 462, no. 48; *Paralipomena*, 377; *Addenda* 120; *LIMC* III, 427, no. 41; Frickenhaus, *Lenäenvasen*, 34, no. 11; Simon, *Götter*, 276, Fig. 264. Naples, Mus. Naz. 2419, red-figured stamnos, Dinos Painter, 420/410 B.C. *ARV2*, 1151f., no. 2; *Paralipomena*, 457; *Addenda*, 165; *UMC* III, 426, no. 33, Pl. 298; Frickenhaus, *ibid.*, 39, no. 29; Simon, *Götter*, 276, Fig. 265. For these vases see now also M. Halm-Tisserant, “Autour du mannequin dionysiaque”, *Hephaistos* 10 (1991) 63–88.

43 Naples, Mus. Naz. 82922 (H 2411), Apulian volute-krater from Ruvo, Painter of the Birth of Dionysos, c. 400 B.C. *RVAp* I, 35 no. 8; *LIMC* III, 495, no. 863, Pl. 405; Trendall (*supra* n. 25), 53, no. 167; Schefold, “Statuen”, 54; Romano, *Cult images*, 460,

no. 21.

44 Naples, Mus. Naz., Attic red-figured column-krater from Cumae, Pan Painter, c. 460. Beazley, ARV2, 551, no. 15; Pfuhl, *MuZ*, Fig. 477 = my Fig. 23; Simon, *Götter*, Fig. 296. Further examples, Simon, *ibid.*, Figs. 294–295, 297; *LIMC* V, 301–304, nos. 92–156, Pls. 206–214; Shapiro (*supra* n. 4), 128–131, Pls. 58–59, 60b.

45 Paris, Bibl. Nat., Late Corinthian pyxis, first half of the sixth century. *CVA Paris*, Bibl. Nat. 1, Pl. 17:5 (= France 7, Pl. 301); Romano, *Cult images*, 455, no. 2.

46 Brauron, Mus. 1151. *UMC* ii, 695f., no. 974, Pl. 518. Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek 462. *LIMC* ii, 881, no. 211, pi. 651 = my Fig. 24, permission requested.

47 Votive relief from the Acropolis, L. Beschi, “Contributi di topografia ateniese”, *ASAtene* 45–46 (NS 29–30) (1967–1968) 533f., Fig. 16.

Endnotes

* In addition to the customary abbreviations, as listed in *AJA* 95 (1991) 4–16, the following will be used:

Bielefeld, “Götterstatuen” = li. Bielefeld, “Götterstatuen auf attischen Vasenbildern. Eine religionsgeschichtlich-archäologische Studie”, *Wiss. Zeitschrift tier E. Moritz Arndt-Universität Greifswald* (Gesellschafts- und sprachwiss. R. 4/4) 4 (1954/55) 379–403.

Frickenhau, *Lenäenvasen* = A. Frickenhaus, *Lenäenvasen* (= *Programm zum Winckelmanns-feste d. archaeol. Gesellschaft zu Berlin*, 27), Berlin 1912.

Langlotz, *Aphrodite* = E. Langlotz, *Aphrodite in den Garten* (= *SBHeid* .38:2), Heidelberg 1953/54.

LCS = A. D. Trendall, *The red-figured vases of Lucania, Campania and Sicily*, Oxford 1967.

Metzger, *Représentations* = H. Metzger, *Représentations dans la céramique attique du IVe siècle*, (Diss.) Paris 1951.

Moret, *Ilioupersis* = J.-M. Moret, *L'Ilioupersis dans la céramique italote. Les mythes et leur expression figurée au IVe siècle* (*Bibliotheca Helvetica Romana*, 14), Rome 1975.

Pfuhl, *MuZ* = li. Pfuhl, *Malerei und Zeichnung der Griechen*, München 1923.

Romano, *Cult images* = I.B. Romano, *Early Greek cult images*, Diss. Univ. of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia 1981.

RVAp = A. D. trendall & A. Cambitoglou, *Red-figured vases of Apulia I–II*, Oxford 1978–1982.

Schefold, “Statuen” = K. Schefold, “Statuen auf Vasenbildern”, *Jdl* 52 (1937) 30–75.

Simon, *Götter* = E. Simon, *Die Götter der Griechen*, 2nd ed., München 1980.

The Iconography of Epiphany in Classical Greece (abstract)

Folkert van Straten

1 Representations of gods and goddesses are extremely numerous in the ancient Greek iconographical material. In the archaeological literature the term *epiphany* has often been rather loosely applied to many of these. An attempt is made in this paper to develop criteria by which those representations that may justifiably be interpreted as epiphanies can be distinguished from the rest.

2 Since epiphany implies that the god is seen by man, scenes with deities from which human figures are absent are the first to drop out.

3 Among the pictures including both divine and human figures, there is a large class in which the human figures do not betray any awareness of, or reaction to, the presence of the divine figures. Neither these representations should be interpreted as epiphanies. They are the result of an attempt by artists working in a visual medium to depict the *invisible* divine presence.

4 Only when the human figures clearly acknowledge the presence of the gods by their actions or gestures, an interpretation of the scene as a divine apparition may be considered. But even then, in many cases an alternative explanation is more likely. For instance, the large class of Classical votive reliefs with scenes of worship, showing worshippers making the conventional gestures of adoration before their gods, cannot all be taken as depictions of epiphanies. They are better understood as concrete expressions of the abstract notion of a

relationship between man and god as established by worship.

5

In order to find representations of epiphanies that will stand up to a critical scrutiny, circumstantial factors should be taken into account. The investigation should focus in the first place on gods that are known to be particularly inclined to epiphanies, and on cults where personal apparitions of the gods were the rule rather than the exception. Therefore, the iconography of incubation in sanctuaries of healing gods, and consequently of dream apparitions in general, will be briefly discussed. This will lead us to the Nymphs and their direct contacts with human worshippers, and to Pan and his role in connection with epiphanies in general.

The Cult Scene on the Polos of the Siphnian Karyatid at Delphi

Petros G. Themelis

The Treasury of Siphnos

1

According to the testimony of Herodotus (3.57), the Treasury of the island of Siphnos was one of the most striking wonders of Delphi. The Siphnians, at the time of the building's dedication, were at the height of their power, which was based largely on the intensive exploitation of the gold and silver mines on the island.

1

Herodotus also recounts how Samian fugitives, who had revolted against the tyrant Polycrates, plundered Siphnos about 525 B.C. Fortunately, however, this was after the completion of the Treasury. Its overwhelming importance rests not only on its artistic value, but also on the fact that it is the best dated monument of the Greek Archaic period. With the exception of the foundation, it is built entirely out of Parian marble. It had the form of a *distyle in antis* with two Karyatids instead of columns supporting the cornice and the entablature on the west facade. All parts of the Treasury were richly decorated.

2

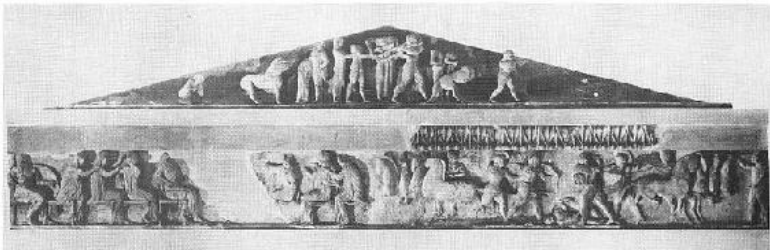


Fig. 1. East frieze and pediment of the Siphnian Treasury at Delphi.

2

The subject of the pedimental composition of the east side (the west pedimental sculpture either did not exist or has not been preserved) is supposed to be the dispute between Heracles and Apollo for the possession of the oracular tripod (Fig. 1).

3

A continuous relief frieze ran around the building, like a ribbon, above the solid walls and above the architrave on the west front. It was framed by an Ionic kyma below and a Lesbian one above. The west and south sections of the frieze, which probably display the judgement of Paris and the Rape of Helen (or the Lefkippidai) respectively, are attributed to the so-called Master A who employs sharp outlines and rather flat relief and avoids overlapping. He is considered to be an Ionian who kept close contacts with the centres of Asia Minor. The east and north sides of the frieze (those immediately visible from the sacred way) representing the Trojan Battlefield with the Olympian's Assembly (Fig. 1) and the Gigantomachy are the work of Master B, who attempted a free superimposition of figures and perspective arrangements. He was an inspired sculptor from the Cyclades, probably from Paros, who seems to have spent a good deal of his career in Athens.

4

3

The continuous relief frieze, as well as Karyatids instead of columns, seem to have made their appearance first on the entablature of the Knidian Treasury around 550–540 B.C. The Knidian Karyatids are called “ἀγάλματα”, in a dedicatory inscription relating to the building's construction, which means that they were considered to be statues of Korai dedicated to the sanctuary to please the God, *i.e.*, they had not only an architectural but also a votive function.

Shortly after, in 530–525 B.C., the relief frieze and the Karyatids of the Siphnian Treasury were made.

The Siphnian Karyatid

4

We shall leave out of our discussion the so-called ex-Knidian Karyatid-head with inserted eyes and cylindrical polos which carries a scene in low relief representing Apollo playing the kithara accompanied by four Nymphs, three Graces and Hermes;

6

it has been convincingly dissociated from the Siphnian Treasury. We shall confine the study to the one Karyatid-torso, which certainly belonged to the Siphnian Treasury (Fig. 2). It has been recomposed from five fragments of Parian marble accidentally found either in gardens or in walls of modern houses in the village of Kastri to the west or southwest of the holy precinct.

7

Two of the fragments are of unknown provenance.



Fig. 2. The Siphnian Karyatid as it was first exhibited in the Delphi Museum; the missing front part of the polos is restored with plaster.

5

The Siphnian Karyatid wears a thin chiton with stylized wavy folds and above it the Cycladic diagonal mantle gathered in rich, large and hollow folds.

8

She lifts her skirt with the missing left hand and proffers a gift with

the also missing outstretched right. Her body is powerful and bulky with prominent breasts and massive thighs. On her head is balanced the basket-shaped polos (kalathos) with a scene in high relief to which we shall return below. The missing front part (Inv. no. 11.875) was found November 16, 1980 by the restorer of the Delphi Museum, Andreas Mavragannis, built into a modern terrace wall of an olive yard about 50 m south of the Arachova-Delphi road (Figs. 3–4). On the polos stood an elaborated capital the echinus of which bears a daring relief of two lions attacking a stag (Inv. no. 1554) (Fig. 2).

6

The Siphnian Karyatid must have been made by a Cycladic master and most probably by the Parian Master B who worked on the east and north section of the frieze.

9

The attribution to a Parian master is supported by the fact that the architecture of the Treasury is also connected with Paros.

10

Nevertheless, Siphnos had never been a sculptural centre, in contrast to neighbouring Paros. A kouros head and a lion head found on Siphnos are attributed to Parian workshops, too.

11

7

The hieratic, rigid posture and costume, the diadem and the coiffure, the decorated polos, the unusual amount of added metal jewellery form a complex of elements that “would remain outside the human sphere and would characterize the Siphnian Karyatid as a divine image”,

12

as a polos-wearing Nymph, whose votive function can be assumed according to the Knidian parallel mentioned above.

The polos relief

8

The new fragment (Figs. 3, 4a–c) completes the relief scene that runs around the cylindrical body of the polos and calls for a new attempt of brief description and interpretation. The strongly damaged state of the front right part inevitably leaves open some essential questions.



Fig. 3. The relief surface of the new fragment of the Siphnian Karyatid's polos (Delphi Museum 11.875).

9

The polos, 0.305 m high, ends with a reverse Lesbian kyma around the lower edge and a plain band of 0.04 m on the upper. A circular cutting in the middle of the upper surface, 0.085 m in diam. and 0.06 m deep, served the vertical connection with the capital (Fig. 4a,b). The cylinder of the polos, 0.215 m high and larger above (0.32 m) than below, carries a relief scene divided into two sections, comprising two groups of figures, who participate in two different practices. The same phenomenon can be observed on the continuous frieze of the Treasury, where each side is filled with different topics, the sequence of which is not quite apparent, while the selected topic of the east frieze comprises two events not united in neither time nor space: the Olympians' Assembly and the Trojan Battlefield. Each section fills almost equal space on the back and front of the polos.

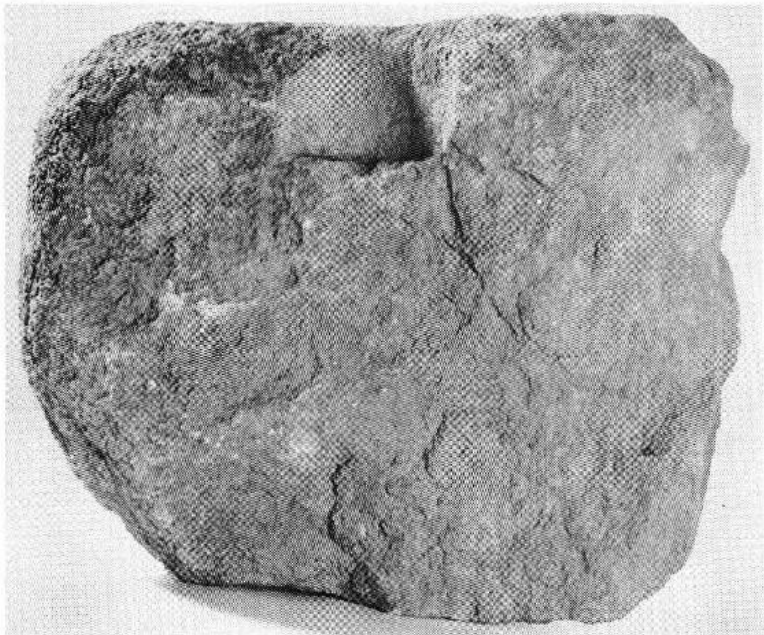


Fig. 4a. Back surface of the new fragment of the Siphnian Karyatid's polos.

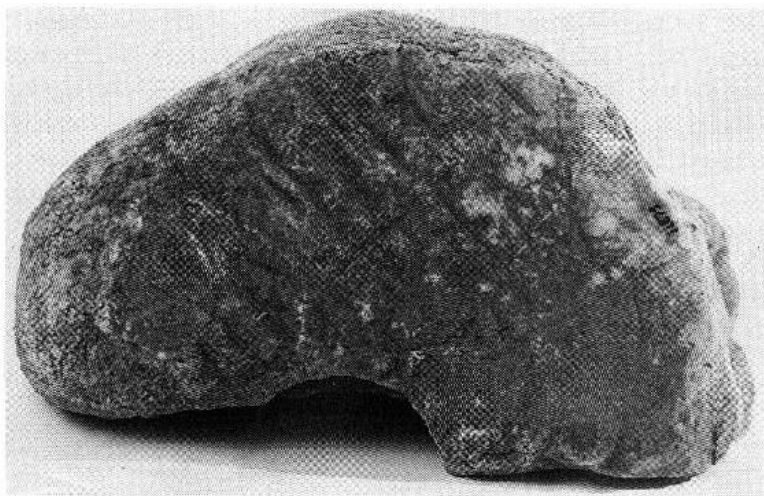


Fig. 4b. Upper surface of the new fragment of the Siphnian Karyatid's polos.



Fig. 4c. Lower surface of the new fragment of the Siphnian Karyatid's polos.

10

On the better preserved back part

13

the scene is composed of five figures (Fig. 5): three naked Satyrs with long hair and beards and especially long equine tails, and two Nymphs with loose hair and long chitons. The representation seems to develop from left to right, starting with a large pithoid krater with high neck, rounded shoulders, ovoid body and remnants of fenestrated handles from shoulder to rim (Fig. 6a).

14

A Satyr follows, turned to the right, who raises his right leg in a dancing position and brings to his mouth with both hands a missing object, which has been recognised as a drinking cup (Fig. 6a,b).

15

The act of drinking does not seem to be connected with standing or dancing figures, so I prefer to complete the missing object with the double pipes, on the basis of parallels from vase painting and the poros pedimental relief from Dionysos' Eleuthereus (?) temple in Athens (NM 3131).

16

It is the aulos music that guides the dancing steps of the Satyr and attracts the attention of all the members of the thiasos, who turn their heads towards him.

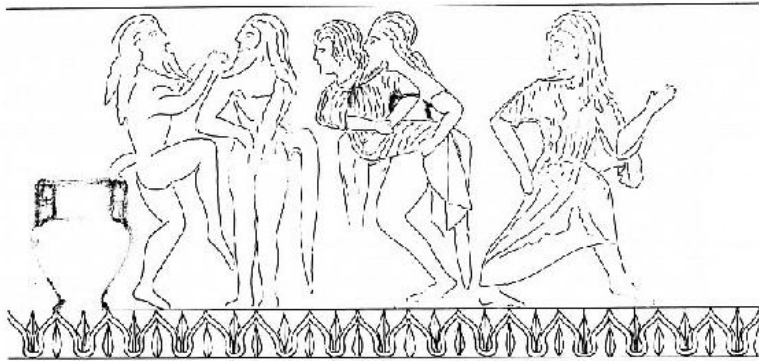


Fig. 5. Restored drawing of the Dionysiac thiasos. Back part of the relief scene on the Siphnian Karyatid's polos.



11

The next Satyr, very close to the first one, is almost frontal and in an immobile posture (Fig. 6b), his right hand bent in front of his body; he turns his head in profile to our left. There follows the group of a Satyr abducting a Nymph (Fig. 6c); he raises his right leg while bending the left in a position, interpreted as dancing.

17

The act of rape however cannot be combined with dancing but rather with running. The abducted woman seems to wear a kind of short, smooth veil above the chiton that looks like animal skin (nebrid); she must be a Maenad.

18



Fig. 6b. Partial view of the relief scene on the back part of the Siphnian Karyatid's polos: Dionysiac thiasos.



Fig. 6c. Partial view of the relief scene on the back part of the Siphnian Karyatid's polos: Dionysiac thiasos.

12

Abduction representations are rare in the Dionysiac iconography of the 6th c. B.C. The ones I know are depicted in the Return of Hephaistos scene on the François vase (Florence 4209).

19

A more or less similar rape scene is used as an emblem on the Thasian coins from their first appearance in about 525 B.C. to the end of the 5th c. B.C. On the coins the iconographie development of the rape scene can be easily followed, passing gradually from "erotism to tenderness".

20

The type of the bearded satyr with the long horse's tail was not foreign to Thasian art; the marble relief from the end of the 6th c. B.C. carved on the interior marble slab of one of the gates of the city of Thasos is well known.

21

Nymphs and Satyrs comparable to ours appear also on various numismatic types of Thrace and Macedonia (esp. Pieria).

22

Thasos had very close links with its mother city of Paros and kept contacts with the Thracian tribes of the opposite mainland.

23

13

The Maenad at the right end of the back scene, who flees to the right while turning her head backwards (Figs. 6c, 7a) seems to wear the same leather garment, probably a nebrid, above her long chiton. Her movements and gestures betray astonishment and fear and are explained by her attempt to avoid abduction.

14

Most of the aspects of Dionysiac thiasos scenes appear first with narrative content around 560 B.C., one generation or so earlier than the construction of the Siphnian Treasury, in the works of Lydos and the Heidelberg painter. Lydos' Satyrs are fully human but for animal ears and tail, while their feminine companions bear attributes of true Maenads.

24

15

The new fragment offers precious information about the front half of the polos relief, which was apparently most important and quite essential for the understanding of the whole representation. On the left stands the solemn figure of a woman, turned to the right (Fig. 7a-b). She is dressed like the two Maenads on the back section we described above: long chiton with large, short sleeves, animal skin (nebrid) around the shoulders bound in front; her head bent slightly downwards. In her right hand, which is kept close to her body at the height of the waist, she was holding an object no longer recognisable; with her outstretched left hand she is tightly holding a small dead animal by the fore legs. It looks more like a young goat (ἐρίφιον) than a hare, as is indicated by the hoofs and the form of the body (Figs. 8b, 9). The animal's body hangs vertically with its hind legs

close together and immovable, its head hangs lifelessly backwards (Fig. 9).



Fig. 7a. One of three successive views of the front part of the relief scene on the Siphnian Karyatid's polos: animal offering to the cult image of Dionysos.



Fig. 7b. Partial view of the front part of the relief scene on the Siphnian Karyatid's polos: animal offering to the cult image of Dionysos.

What remains of the object that followed immediately to the right, occupying the centre of the scene above the Karyatid's face, is only the strange outline of a worn mass supported by or standing on animal legs (Figs. 3, 8a, 9). Two hoofs of the animal legs are preserved on the lower border, close to the reverse Lesbian kyma; the first hoof is turned to the left, the second seems to be turned to the right. At first sight it appears to be the rear or the front part of a bull turning its missing head backwards. The antithetic position of the hoofs, however, and the shape of the preserved upper part of the legs, as well as the size and the outline of the worn mass do not allow such an

identification. It seems more justified to accept that a three-legged table with perpendicular animal legs, on which stood a kind of corb or cradle, was represented here (Figs. 3, 8a, 9). Close to and above the cradle-like object and partially in front of it, there are the remains of what seems to be an erected bulky pole or pillar with a rounded projection to the left (Figs. 3, 9) and a figure, whose legs are preserved on the lower edge. The scene closes with a female figure turned to the left. Only her legs and part of her long chiton are visible on the edge below (Fig. 7c).



Fig. 7c. Partial view of the front part of the relief scene on the Siphnian Karyatid's polos: animal offering to the cult image of Dionysos.



Fig. 8a. Detail view of the woman holding the animal.

The Dionysiac ritual

17

The static, ritual solemnity of the front section of the relief frieze is in contrast to the vivid rhythm and Dionysiac revelry of the back.

25

This combined use and mixture of an ordinary cult scene with an orgiastic one of a mythological character is not unparalleled; it will suffice to mention the red-figured volute krater from the necropolis of Spina, Ferrara 2897 (T128) and certain Lenaea vases, which immediately interest us as being related to the cult of Dionysos.

The differences are not confined to formal elements only: In the back section, action develops horizontally in both directions despite the fact that the dancing and music-making Satyr seems to attract special attention. In the front there is a central area of great importance, on both sides of which stand exclusively female participants. This central area must comprise the cult image of the god; the preserved remains and contours allow one, in my opinion, to recognise an animal-legged table with a liknon on it, empty or containing the mask of Dionysos and close by a bulky pole or pillar (?) intended to receive the mask (which was brought in the liknon) or with the mask already hung up on it, illustrating the next ritual (Figs. 3, 9).



Fig. 8b. Detail view of the woman holding the animal.



Fig. 9. Woman holding the animal, liknon on trapeza (?) and idol of Dionysos.

18

The cultic character of the whole scene is undeniable: a Maenad-priestess (?) offers a dead animal, probably a young goat to the idol of Dionysos; she is attended by at least two more persons', who would have also proffered gifts, one of which is probably a Maenad, too; the Dionysiac thiasos moves around the area where the ritual takes place.

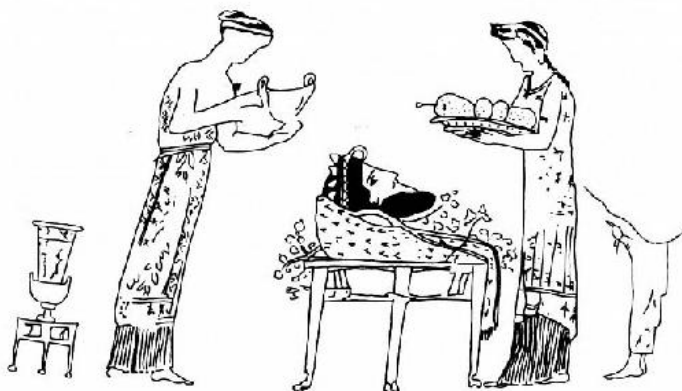


Fig. 10. The cult scene on the Vlastos oinochoe (Athens NM 266). After ARV, 1249,13.

Liknon was not sacred in itself but like other profane implements sometimes occurred in sacred use, as Nilsson argues.

28

The Ferrara krater

29

and the Vlastos oinochoe (Athens 266; Fig. 10)

30

are the only Classical monuments, on which liknon seems to have a specific cultic use. Literary sources on the subject are not very conclusive either.

31

The mask as a cult image of Dionysos first appears on Attic vases in the late third quarter of the 6th c. B.C. and becomes more popular towards the end of the century and in the early 5th.

32

The representation of a liknon-mask-pillar complex on the Karyatid's polos would then be the earliest one, if my decipherment of the worn symbols is correct, and would constitute one more innovation ascribed to the Siphnian Treasury; the others are: a) the peculiar technique of the pedimental sculpture, partly in relief and partly in the round, b) the earliest continuous frieze on the Greek mainland, and c) the first and unique (among temples or treasuries) use of the Gigantomachy for a frieze,

33

not to mention the Karyatids' prostase, which first appeared in the Knidian Treasury.

20

Liknon and mask-idol are connected with the Attic Anthesteria spring festival also celebrated in East Greece. E. Simon argues that Dionysos took the form of a mask placed on a pillar or column both as Eleuthereus and as Lenaeus.

34

21

On the Athenian vases of the late 6th and early 5th centuries, on which the mask-idol of Dionysos appears, there is no animal offering or sacrifice;

35

in front of or near the idol in some cases stands a three-legged table (trapeza), in one case an altar, women or maenads (in some cases also

Satyrs and in one case a man) dance around, make music and veneration gestures, bring wine (wine kraters are also represented), fruit, cakes and/or place them on the table.

36

The offering of the killed sacrificial animal by the Maenad-priestess (Figs. 3, 9) is a ritual act, which differentiates the Delphic cult scene from its Attic parallels and adds to it a specific connotation. The only iconographic parallel is found on the Ruvo amphora in Naples (Heydemann 2411), the whole representation of which is very important for the understanding of our cult scene and its connection to the Lenaea representations. "On the upper level, an ephebe-god half-reclined among women and satyrs, below, a bearded god in embroidered clothes, standing erect between a table and sacrificial altar. The second Dionysos, who wears the mask of a cult statue, occupies the centre of a ritual arrangement. Among the officiants, all female, some of whom play cymbals and drum while others wave torches and the thyrsos, two women carry out the task of the sacrifice. Different actions are addressed to the same idol. While one of the women places fruit and a basket of cakes on the table as a bloodless offering and flameless sacrifice, the other carries out an animal sacrifice in front of an altar where the sacrificial fire is burning. Her right hand lifts up a knife over the head of a kid (depicted under her left forearm), the victim whose blood will drench the altar."

37

The similarities are striking. The Maenad-priestess on the left of the Delphic cult-scene who carries out the sacrifice of a kid was probably holding a knife in her right hand, while the women on the right of the Dionysos idol could have been carrying a basket with fruit and cakes.

22

Although blood sacrifice and everything connected with meat was a male monopoly and women had no rights to the cauldron, the spit, or the knife, there are exceptional cases.

38

On the occasion of the Anthesteria, the Basilinna attended by fourteen maids of honour, the Gererai, carried out sacrifices and secret rites (Demosthenes, *Contra Neaeram* 73–75). In the ritual of the Thesmophoria, women had the right to sacrifice together and divide the victims up among themselves. In the calendar of the deme of

Erchia in Attica, on the occasion of a sacrifice offered by a priestess of Semele and Dionysos, the parts of the victim, a goat, are distributed among the women and consumed on the spot. Another example is found at Olympia in the context of the celebrations of Heraia organised by the “college of the sixteen women of Elis” (Pausanias 5.16, 2–4).

39

23

The sacrifice of a kid to the Dionysos-idol on the Karyatid’s polos, performed by a woman priestess dressed as a Maenad, attended by women and surrounded by the Dionysiac thiasos, is iconographically connected via the Ruvo amphora in Naples to the so-called Lenaea vases. On the other hand, the Basilinna with the fourteen Gererai, the priestess of Dionysos and Semele with the women of Erchia, as well as the college of the sixteen women of Elis are closely related to the college of the Thyiads and their leader (Ἀρχήϊς), who performed the “Awakening of Dionysos Liknites” ritual, during the biennial winter or early spring Dionysos festival at Delphi together with Thyiads from Athens. The same college of women performed every eight years at Delphi the “Heroine” and “Charila” rituals, both related to Dionysos and his mother Semele.

40

24

Henrichs has distinguished three broad types of Dionysiac festivals: those confined to women, usually involving maenadism, those dominated by men, usually involving drinking, and those open to both sexes and often celebrating the annual epiphany of the God.

41

At Delphi, where the cult of Dionysos was a vital one and existed side-by-side with that of Apollo at least from the Archaic to the late Roman period, the biennial festival can be ascribed to the first type of Henrichs’ distinction. The main role in the ceremonial rites and the Awakening of the Liknites ritual was played by the college of Thyiads,

42

a local version of Maenads, guided by their Archeis. The Awakening of the Liknites was not the awakening of a sleeping god of vegetation but the raising of him from the dead, as Nilsson argues;

43

the biennial period is contradictory to the yearly awakening of

vegetation; also the ennaeteric festival “Herois” at Delphi refers, according to him, to the ascent of Dionysos from the realm of the dead. Orphic myths and ideas are apparent in the arousing of the Liknites. In the Peisistratid period, Onomakritos introduced Orphic rites (ὄρτυα) of Dionysos which told (or reenacted) the god’s suffering at the hands of the Titans (Pausanias 8.37,5) and his descent to the Underworld to bring his mother Semele to Olympos, where she was renamed Thyone (Diodorus 4.25.4).

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25

Very important for the form of the cult image of Dionysos worshipped at Delphi during his festival is the information given by Pausanias (10.19,3) that among the dedications standing at the temple area on the north-east was a bronze mask of Dionysos that was apparently erected on a pillar or wooden pole like a xoanon. This mask was dedicated by the people of Methymna on Lesbos; fishermen of Methymna had caught in their nets a mask (prosopon) of olive-wood, which looked divine but was unusual for Greek deities; the Pythia who was asked by the people of Methymna, whether the image was that of a god or a hero advised them to establish a cult of Dionysos (Ke-)phallen; hence the people of Methymna dedicated to Delphi a bronze copy of the original wooden idol of Dionysos, which was kept on their island and worshipped with sacrifices and other rites.

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The evidence, both literary and iconographic, leads to the following conclusions:

1. the cult scene on the polos of the Siphnian Karyatid seems to represent the Delphic ritual of Dionysos Liknites,
2. the Maenad-priestess, who performs the kid sacrifice might be recognised as the Archeis (leader) of the college of Thyiads,
3. the liknon placed on the table in the centre of the scene alludes to the “Liknites”, and
4. a pillar or wooden pole with the mask of Dionysos hung on it was probably erected behind or close to the table.

Notes

1 Pausanias 10.11.2. Cf. J. D. Muhly, "Gold analysis and the sources of gold in the Aegean", *TUAS* 8 (1983) 1–14.

2 G. Lippold, *HdA* VI (1950) 70 (with bibliography); B. S. Ridgway, *The Archaic style in Greek sculpture* (1977) 267ff; A. Stewart, *Greek sculpture* (1990) 128, Pis. 187–189; L.V Watrous, "The sculptural program of the Siphnian Treasury at Delphi", *AJA* 86 (1982) 160f.; P. de la Coste-Messelière, *Au Musée de Delphes* (1936) 284–436; N. Bookidis, *A study of the use and geographical distribution of the architectural sculpture in the Archaic period* (Ph. D. Diss. Bryn Mawr 1967) Ann Arbor 1979, 327.; M. B. Moore, "The Gigantomachy of the Siphnian Treasury", in: *Études delphiques* (BCH-Suppl. IV; 1972) 305ff; F. Felten, *Griechische tektonische Friese archaischer und klassischer Zeit* (Schriften aus dem Athenaiion der Klassischen Archäologie Salzburg, 4), Salzburg 1984, 23 and 38ff.; *Fouilles de Delphes*, II: *Topographie et Architecture, Le Trésor de Siphnos*, by G. Daux and E. Hansen (Paris 1987). See also B. A. Sparkes, "Greek Art", in: *Greece and Rome, New Survey in the Classics*, no. 22 (Oxford 1991) 4–6 and notes 16–26 for further bibliography on the problems of dating and interpretation of the sculptural decoration.

3 D. von Bothmer, "The Struggle for the Tripod", in: *Festschrift für Frank Brommer* (1987) 51ff.; Watrous (*supra* n. 2) 160f; H. A. Shapiro, *Art and cult under the tyrants in Athens* (1989) 61–64.

4 Ridgway (*supra* n. 2) 270. L. H. Jeffery has integrated the signature on the Giant's shield as "Aristion of Paros" (= Ridgway, *supra* n. 2, 279: Bibliography for page 270). Cf. M. Guarducci, in *Studi Banti* (1965) 167; L. H. Jeffery, *Archaic Greece*, 185; W Deyhle, "Meisterfragen der archaischen Plastik Attikas", *AM* 84 (1969) 22ff., who discusses the attribution of the East and North friezes to Endoios.

5 Chr. Karousos, *Delphi* (1974) 109; G. Gruben, *Die Tempelder Griechen* (19684) 82; F. Salviat, "La dédicace du Trésor de Cnide", in: *Études delphiques* (BCH-Suppl. IV; 1972) 23–36.

6 *FdD* IV 2 (1928) 1ff., Figs. 1–2; P. de la Coste Messelière, "Sur les caryatides cnidiennes de Delphes", *BCH* 62 (1938) 286f.; *idem* and J. Marcadé, "Corés delphiques", *BCH* 77 (1953) 354f., Pl. 43; G. M. Richter, *BCH* 82 (1958) 92. There is some iconographie relation to the early 5th c. relief of the Theories Passage on Thasos: J. Pouilloux, *RFA* (1959) 284–290; K. Despini, "Η ερμηνεία των αναγλύφων της διόδου των θεωρών", *ArchDelt* 31 (1976) A, 175, nn. 68 and 69.

7 *FdD* IV 2 (1928) 58–64, Fig. 30, Pls. IV–V; *BCH* 77 (1953) 360–364.

8 N. Himmelmann, *IstMitt* 15 (1965) 29; H. Herdejürgen, *Untersuchungen zur tbronenden Göttin aus Tarent in Berlin und zur archaischen und archaistischen Schrägmanteltracht* (1968) 54–56, 59–61.

9 Ridgway (*supra* n. 2) 101; K. Despini, Προβλήματα παριακής πλαστικής του 5ου

π.Χ.αί. (Dissertation; Thessaloniki 1979) 176, 178–180. Cf. E. Langlotz, *FB*, 138f, *AMA* 35, note 32. *Idem*, *Studien zur nordgriechischen Kunst* (1975) 168; Fr. Croissant, in: *Études delphiques* (BCH-Suppl. iv, 1972) 361.

10 G. Gruben, *JdI* 78 (1963) 146f.; *MüJb* 23 (1972) 7f, 28f.

11 G. Lippold (*supra* n. 2) 71, nn. 6, 7; N. Kontoleon, *Aspects de la Grèce préclassique* (1970) 64, n. 2; Chr. Karouzos, *ArchEph* 1937, 599; *AA* 1939, 265; Despini (*supra* n. 9) 176, n. 549.

12 Ridgway (*supra* n. 2) 109. Cf. E. Simon, *RA* 1972, 205–220, who discusses the polos in conjunction with Hera and the Nymphs and stresses the funerary character of the 5th c. Erechtheion Karyatids, which she would consider polos-wearing Nymphs (= Ridgway, *loc. cit.*).

13 *FdD* IV 12 (1928) 60ff, Fig. 30, Pls. IV, V XX.

14 Recognised as a typical shape used in the Cyclades in the 7th and 6th c. B.C.: E. C. MacNeil Bogges, *The development of the Attic pithos* (1972) 278f. (= Ridgway, *supra* n. 2, 101).

15 *FdD* IV, 61, no. 2.

16 Th. H. Carpenter, *Dionysiac imagery in Archaic Greek art, its development in black-figure vase painting* (1986) 77ff, Pls. 19, 20, 23; R. Heberday, *Altattische Porosskulptur* (1913) 75; J. Boardman, *Greek sculpture, The Archaic period* (1978) Pl. 201.

17 *FdD* IV, 61, no. 4. It seems more probable that the Satyr is running carrying the Maenad away.

18 The distinction between Nymphs and Maenads is not so clear, “I limiti non sono ben definibili” as E. Simon, “Menadi”, *EAA* V, 1002–13 believes. See T. H. Carpenter (*supra* n. 16) 80, nn. 16–17 for further bibliography on the representations of maenads.

19 J. Boardman, *Athenian black figure vases* (1974) Figs. 46–47. The François vase is the first work in which Maenads (or Nymphs) and Satyrs appear as companions of Dionysos: Carpenter (*supra* n. 16) 76 and 81f.

20 O. Picard, “Monnaies et gravures monétaires à Thasos”, *Philia epe eis G. E. Mylonas* II (1987), 151, n. 6, who notes that, although the abducted woman does not carry a Dionysiac attribute, “c’est sans doute une Ménade”. Nymphs’ cult is attested on Thasos: J. Pouilloux, *Recherches sur l’histoire et les cultes de Thasos* I (1954) 339–340 (= Picard, *loc. cit.*).

21 *Études Thasiennes* VIII, 85–111; *Guide de Thasos* (1967) 58f., Figs. 22–23; Boardman (*supra* n. 19) Pl. 223.

22 J. Svoronos, “L’hellénisme primitif de la Macédoine prouvé par la numismatique et l’or du Pangée”, *JIAN* 19 (1918/19) 92–100.

23 O. Rubensohn, *RE* XVIII.4 (1949) s.v. Paros, 1813f. Cf. L. Robert, *BCH* 59 (1953) 500, n. 3; D. Lazarides, *Νεάπολις-Χριστούπολις*, (Kavalla 1969) 15; Despini (*supra* n. 9) 172f, 201.

24 Shapiro (*supra* n. 3) 90f.; A. Schöne, *Der Thiasos: eine ikonographische Untersuchung über das Gefolge des Dionysos in der attischen Vasenmalerei des 6. und 5. Jhs v. Chr.*

(Göteborg 1987); Carpenter (*supra* n. 16) 83.

25 An analogous differentiation is generally observed between east (front) and west (back) pedimental compositions.

26 F. Sartori, "Il cratere della tomba 128 nella necropoli di Spina", *Rendiconti dell'accademia dei Lincei* V (1959) 233f., Pls. I-III; S. Aurigemma, *Il r. museo di Spina* (Ferrara 1953) 180, Pl. 96; J. Beazley, ARV 696. The identity of the gods on the Ferrara krater is disputed: M. P Nilsson, *The Dionysiac Mysteries of the Hellenistic and Roman Age* (1957) 24f., nn. 11–12. Cf. J. Boardman, *Athenian red figure vases, the Classical period* (1989) Fig. 157, 1–2; C. Bérard and J.-L. Durand, "Entrer en imagerie", in: *La cité des images* (1984) 19f., Fig. 21a–f; I. Loucas, "Meaning and place of the cult scene on the Ferrara krater T128" (in the present volume). On the Lenaea vases see: A. Frickenhaus, *Lenäenvasen* (Berl WPr 72, 1912); G. van Hoorn, *Choes and the Anthesteria* (1951); Nilsson (*supra*) 28f., nn. 14–16; E. Simon, *Festivals of Attica* (1983) 100f.; G. Ferrari, "Eye-cup", RA 1986, 17–20; F. Frontisi-Ducroux, "Face et profil, les deux masques", in: *Images et société en Grèce ancienne*, ed. C. Bérard (1987) 89–102.

27 Nilsson (*supra* n. 26).

28 Loc. cit.

29 J. E. Harrison, "Mystic vannus Iacchi", *JHS* 23 (1903) 316, Fig. 13; Bérard and Durand (*supra* n. 26) 25.

30 ARV 275–10; van Hoorn (*supra* n. 26) 38; Nilsson (*supra* n. 26) 26f.; Boardman (*supra* n. 26) Fig. 233; F. Frontisi-Ducroux, "Au miroir du masque", in: *La cité des images* (*supra* n. 26) 148, Fig. 209.

31 Sophocles, Frg. 760, Nauck, 2nd ed. (στατοῖς λίκνοισι); Demosthenes, *De corona* 18, 259 (λικνοφόρος); Plutarch, *Alexander* 2 (μυστικῶν λίκνων); Callimachus, *Hymns*, I, 47 (λίκνω ἐνὶ χρυσέῳ) and scholia *ad locum*; *Homeric Hymn* in Merc. w. 150f.

32 W. Wrede, "Der Maskengott", *AM* 53 (1928) 66–65; Shapiro (*supra* n. 3) 99, n. 167. Cf. *supra* n. 26. In early fifth century lekythoi the mask appears either frontal or in double profile: F. Frontisi-Ducroux and J. L. Durand, "Idoles, figures, images", RA 1982, 81–108; Frontisi-Ducroux, "Face et profil" (*supra* η. 26).

33 Ridgway (*supra* n. 2) 211, 267, 268. The second example of the use of the Gigantomachy for a frieze is the Pergamon altar.

34 Simon, *loc. cit.* (*supra* n. 26); Shapiro, *loc. cit.* (*supra* n. 32). Cf. R. Martin and H. Metzger, *La religion grecque* (1976) 122f.; C. Bérard and E. Bron, "Le liknon, le "masque" et le poteau. Images du rituel dionysiaque", in: *Mélanges P. Lévêque* (to appear) (= C. Bérard, "Hommes, prêtres et dieux. L'ordre anthropomorphique dans l'imagerie grecque", in: *L'Islam. une religion*, J. Waardenburg, ed. (1989), 100, n. 7).

35 On an amphora by Amasis, Cabinet des Médailles 222 (ARV 152.25) two maenads embracing each other bring a hare and a young stag (not necessarily dead) to Dionysos, but the scene does not seem to be cultic and it is not connected to the Dionysos festivals. Cf. Carpenter (*supra* n. 16) 66 and 90, nn. 51 and 65, Pl. 17.

36 See, for example: stamnos by the Villa Giulia Painter, Boston 90 155; ARV 621.34;

stamnos by the Dinos Painter, Naples 2419; ARV 1151.2 (Frontisi-Ducroux, *supra* n. 26, Pl. III, labels the vase as “Londres E 451”?); cup by Hieron and Makron, Berlin 2290; ARV 462.48; stamnos, Louvre G 532, CVA France 4, Pl 21 (= Satyr offering wine). See also the list of black figured lekythoi in Frontisi-Ducroux, “Face et profil” (*supra* η. 26) 102. Cf. Wrede, *loc. cit.* (*supra* η. 32); E. Coche de la Ferté, “Les Ménades et le contenu réel des représentations de scènes bacchiques autour de l'idole de Dionysos”, RA 1951, n. 6; Nilsson (*supra* n. 26) 28–29, nn. 15–16.

37 M. Detienne, “The violence of wellborn ladies: Women in the Thesmophoria”, in: *The cuisine of sacrifice among the Greeks*, eds. M. Detienne and J. P. Vernant, (Chicago & London 1989) 140; F. Cumont and A. Vogliano, “La grande iscrizione bacchica del Metropolitan Museum”, AJA 37 (1933) 242f., Pl 31,1; N. Marinatos, “The imagery of sacrifice, Minoan and Greek”, in: R. Hägg and N. Marinatos, eds., *Early Greek cult practice* (1988) 12, Fig. 4.

38 Detienne (*supra* n. 37) 132–141.

39 All the above examples are described and analysed by M. Detienne, *loc. cit.* (*supra* n. 38), who stresses the political dimension of “Women at the sacrifice” and refers to two more examples of sacrifices by women: in the ritual of Ares Gynaikothoinas at Tegea (Paus. 8.48, 4–5) and of Artemis Pergaia in Pamphylia. Cf. P. Lekatsas, *Dionysos, origin and evolution of the Dionysiac religion* (in Greek) (Athens 19712) 126 and 140f., who points out that the “sixteen women of Elis” formed a maenadic thiasos who served Dionysos’ cult, too: Paus. 5.16.6–7.

40 Plutarch, *De Iside et Osiride* 35 (365A) (364E); *Quaestiones graecae* 12 (293C); *Consolatio ad Uxorem* 10 (611D); *De E apud Delphos* 9 (388E); *Mulierum virtutis* 13 (249E); *Quaestiones Convivales* 2,3 (636E); Paus. 10.4.3; L. Lerat, BCH 61 (1936) 359, Pl. 44; G. van Hoorn, “La résurrection de Dionysos Liknites”, *Bulletin van de Vereniging tot Bevordering der Kennis van de antieke Beschaving* 24 (1949) 7f.; H. Jeanmaire, *Dionysos* (1951) 157–219; Nilsson (*supra* n. 26) 38f.; J. Fontenrose, *Python. A study of Delphic myth and its origins* (1959) 377, 458–461; G. Roux, *Delphi: OrakelundKultstätten* (1971) 160–167. Cf. É. Loucas-Durie, “Simulacre humain et offrande rituelle”, *Kernos* 1 (1988) 160; Lekatsas (*supra* n. 39) 192f. (= § 78), 189f. (= § 77), (§ 37 and 41); W. Burkert, *Griechische Religion der archaischen und klassischen Epoche* (1977) 342, 434; G. Dimitrokallis, “Additional astronomie data for the interpretation of Octaeteris” (in Greek), *Philia epe eis G.E. Mylonan II* (1987) 211; M.-Chr. Villanueva Puig, “À propos des Thyiades de Delphes”, in: *L’association dionysiaque dans les sociétés anciennes, Actes de la table ronde organisée par l’École française de Rome, 24–25 mai 1984*, Collection de l’École française de Rome no. 89 (Rome 1986), 31–51.

41 A. Henrichs, “Changing Dionysiac identities”, in B. F. Meyer and E. P. Sanders, eds., *Jewish and Christian self-definition* 3 (London 1982) 137–160.

42 Paus. 10.19.4; F. Croissant, “Les frontons du temple du ive siècle à Delphes. Esquisse d’une restitution”, in: *Archaische und klassische griechische Plastik II* (1986) 187–197; R. Themelis, *ArchEph* 1976, Chron. 8ff; *idem*, BCH 103 (1979) 518f.

43 Nilsson (*supra* n. 26) 30f.

44 Shapiro (*supra* n. 3) 87f.

45 Roux (*supra* n. 40) 167; M. Casevitz and F. Frontisi-Ducroux, “Le masque du «Phallen». Sur une épiclèse de Dionysos à Méthymna”, *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 206 (1989) 115–127.

Meaning and Place of the Cult Scene on the Ferrara Krater T128

Ioannis Loucas

1

During the Periclean era, an Attic artist painted a scene on a volute krater which could be considered as one of the most “mysterious” scenes of classical iconography. The krater, which is now at the Ferrara museum (T. 128, inv. no. 2897),

1

shows a sanctuary with the statues of an enthroned god and goddess with a lion at her side (Fig. 1). The two divine figures hold libation vessels from which liquid pours on an altar in front of them. Beside the altar, there is a female figure, generally considered a priestess, carrying a covered *liknon* on her head. Approaching the altar is a group, a kind of *thiasos*, of ecstatic dancers and players of tympanon, double flute and castanets (Figs. 2–5). Although the choreography is ecstatic, similar to those of the typical Dionysiac orgiastic ritual, these figures do not wear pardalids or nebrids and they do not carry the *thyrsos* but snakes, a chthonic animal which is also represented on their heads as well as on the head of the enthroned god. The scene ends with the hieratic figure of a man playing a double flute, generally considered a priest (Fig. 6).

2

This scene created a great and long debate between scholars who, until the exhaustive study of L. Lawler on the iconography of the maenads and the maenadism, doubted even if the ecstatic dance represented on the krater could have taken place. However, the analysis of its choreography by the American scholar proved that it is

a real “circle of six dancers seen from one side, the figures moving to the spectator's left being closest to him, the one on the extreme left turning the circle, those moving right being on the far side of the circle, and the third figure from the right turning the circle front as she herself turns in place”.

2

3

But, unfortunately, Lawler's study does not answer another question, that of the identity of the two deities, and consequently, of the meaning of the scene. Many scholars, such as J. Beazley K. Kerényi, P. E. Arias, E. Simon, Cl. Bérard,

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have tried to identify the two deities and they have proposed various names: Dionysos, or Dionysos-Hades, and Demeter or Kore, or Semele, or Ariadne; or Iacchos and one of the Eleusinian goddesses; or Sabazios and Kybele. The two words inscribed on the krater, ΚΑΛΟΣ and ΚΑΛΗ, do not facilitate the identification of the two deities, because every Greek deity could be considered by the worshippers as “καλός” or “καλή”.

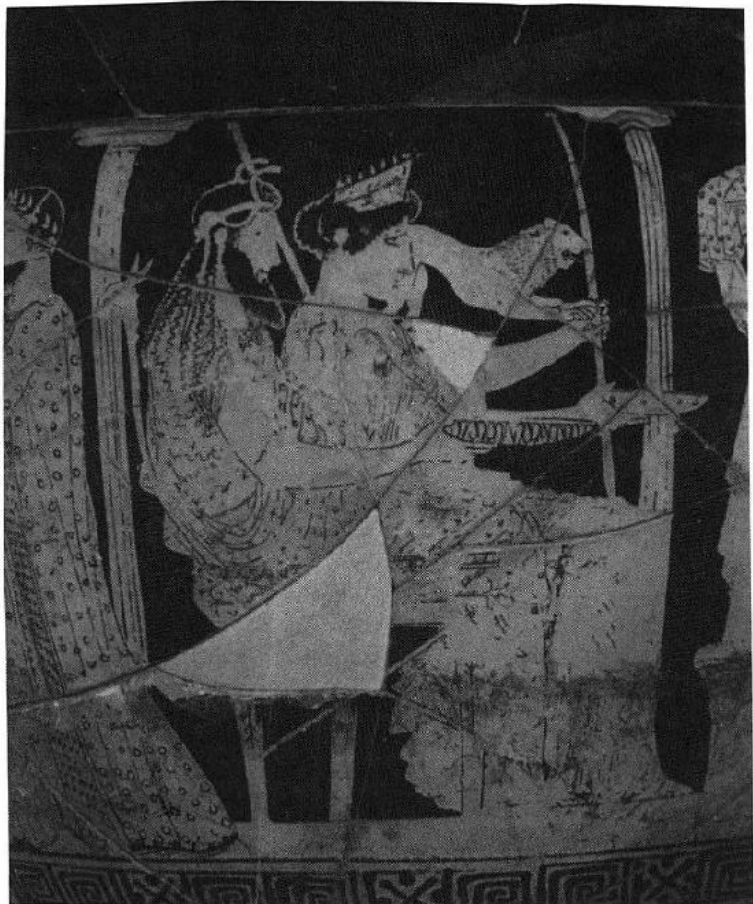


Fig. 1.



Fig. 2.

4

Recently, the scene was reanalysed and reexamined by Cl. Bérard and J. L. Durand, on the occasion of the exhibition of the Ferrara krater at the “cité des images”, held in 1984.

4

The two scholars, applying a semiotic approach to the analysis of the religious and cultic imagery of the Greeks, formulate the following wise remarks about the scene.

5

“It is extremely unusual in Greek imagery of this date to see groups composed on one side of adults and adolescents, even children ... and on the other side, of dancers of both sexes ... up to this point we have dealt with no scene comparable to this one. Dionysiac groups, for

example, are composed mainly of female dancers ... and men only participate in them in the guise of satyrs, which transform their existential status ... this is not the case here. The attitudes of the dancers, however, show great similarities to Dionysiac choreography, the same contortions of the body, the same jerking of the limbs ... the same use of music ... On the Ferrara krater frieze, no thyrsos, no crown of ivy, no vase of Dionysiac shape allows to push the interpretation into the realm of the god of wine. At the most, one could say that the atmosphere is somewhat similar: orgiastic, ecstatic dance, spellbinding music, manipulation of snakes. But the differences are too profound to force the parallel ... Certainly, the divine couple could be a chthonic Dionysos flanked by an underworld Persephone, honored by Hipta, the mystic priestess who carries the mysterious winnowing fan; but they could equally well be Sabazios and Kybele or another couple, known but rarely celebrated in the secret rites of a sect". In other words: we are looking for an ecstatic ritual which is connected with one of the *hypostaseis* of Dionysos and with a great goddess, but which is not purely Dionysiac.



Fig. 3.

5

In fact, the conventional iconography of the Ferrara krater represents an orgiastic, or perhaps it is better to say an ecstatic *dromenon* (ecstatic dancers) in honour of a goddess of nature (lion) and a kind of chthonic Dionysos (snakes). As Bérard and Durand correctly point out, the scene is unique in classical iconography; but, what it represents is described by the literature of the second half of the 5th century B.C. Indeed, if we look for something similar in Attic literature of this period, we might be surprised by the insistence of a tragic poet, Euripides, of describing in his tragedies a similar ecstatic ritual addressed to the most honoured orgiastic and chthonic deities of antiquity: the Greek Goddess of nature Rhea, or Rhea-Cybele, and Dionysos. For instance, we read in his *Helen*:

μέγα τοι δύναται νεβρῶν
 παμποίκιοι στολίδες
 κισσοῦ τε στεφθεῖσα χλόα
 νάρθηκας εἰς ἱερούς,
 ῥόμβων θ' εἰλίσσομένα
 κύκλιος ἔνοσις αἰθερία
 βακχεύουσά τ' ἔθειρα Βρομίῳ
 και παννυχίδες θεᾶς
 εὖτέ νιν ὄμμασιν
 ἔβαλε σελάνα.
 μορφᾷ μόνον ἡὔχεις.



Fig. 4.

But the Euripides' verses cited by G. Mylonas correspond exactly to the identification of Gaia, Meter, Rhea and Demeter mentioned by the Orphic papyrus of Derveni (4th or 3rd century B.C.) in which we read:

Γῆ δὲ καὶ Μήτηρ καὶ Ῥέα καὶ Ἥρη ἡ αὐτή. Ἐκλήθη δὲ
 Γῆ μὲν νόμῳ, Μήτηρ δ' ὅτι ἐκ ταύτης πάντα γ[ίνε]ται,
 Γῆ καὶ Γαῖα κατὰ γ[λ]ῶσσαν ἐκάστοις, Δημήτη[ρ] δὲ
 ὠνομάσθη ὥσπερ] ἡ Γῆ Μήτηρ Γῆ ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων ε[ν] ὀνομα-
 τὸ αὐτὸ γὰρ ἴν.



Fig. 5.

7

And they prove a clear identification between Euripides' religious ideas and Orphic beliefs. But this is not all, the tragic poet himself shows clearly in his works that not only did he know the Orphic beliefs but that he also respected them deeply. Euripides presents Orphism as the most ancient and venerable “rite” of the city of Athens and, as M.-L. Freyburger-Galland and J.-C. Tautill point out after an

examination of *Hippolytus*, for Euripides “l’orphisme authentique est une religion tout à fait respectable. L’héroïsme de ses adeptes peut aller jusqu’au martyre”.

12

8

Certainly, in the verses of *Helen* quoted above, Euripides speaks about “κισσοί” and “νάρθηκες” which do not appear on the Ferrara krater. But poetic art has its own conventions. More specifically for *Helen*, R. Goossens has proved that in this tragedy the poet uses a real agricultural background (which is the ecstatic ritual similar to the one shown on the krater) in which he adds ποιητική ἄδεια — elements appropriate to increase the “exotic” character of the work.

13



Fig. 6.

Now the question arises: could the scene represent an Orphic ritual? Perhaps this question sounds a little strange; although the written sources of the classical period do not give us details of the Orphic ritual, most scholars believe that Orphism had nothing to do with orgies and ecstasis. However, there are exceptions, for instance, M. Bieber supported the close connection and relationship between Orphism and the —pure —Dionysism as concerns the orgiastic and ecstatic ritual.

14

As regards our scene, the absence of nebrid and pardalid on the worshippers-dancers, as well as the libation given by the two deities themselves (affirmation of the non-bloody “gifts to the gods”) leads us directly to the very first and most important prescription of Orphic piety: prohibition of killing, even an animal. The other Orphic prescriptions, concerning ascetism and vegetarianism, could create the appropriate conditions for the orgiastic ecstasis. M.-L. Freyburger-Galland and J.-C. Tautil, although they believe that Orphism probably is not connected to an ecstatic ritual, accept that: “la privation de nourriture (ascèse) et la carence alimentaire (végétarisme) favorisent les manipulations mentales et les phénomènes hallucinatoires ou extatiques”.

15

10

Last but not least: the presence in the scene of figures of both sexes and of every age, presence which, as Bérard and Durand rightly point out, cannot be explained on the hypothesis of a typical Dionysiac ritual, can well be explained in an Orphic context. Orphism was open to everyone, without the restriction of sex or age. For instance, we learn from Theophrastus

16

that the superstitiousness “τελεσθησόμενος πρὸς τοὺς Ὀρφεοτελεστάς κατὰ μῆνα πορεύεσθαι μετὰ τῆς γυναικός ... καὶ τῶν παιδίων”.

11

As we are well aware, there was a place in Attica where Orphic rites were under the strict supervision and control of a very powerful priesthood *genos*, and not a matter of charlatan *orpheotelestai*, as happened elsewhere from the end of the 5th century B.C. onwards.

This was in the ancient deme of Phlya (the actual region of Chalandri and Aghia Paraskevi, between Penteli and Hymettos), where, from the Peisistratid period until the end of the Roman times (4th cent. A.D.) the Great Goddess of nature was worshipped with Dionysos by Orphic orgiastic rites which were organized and executed by priests of the Lykomides local *genos*.

17

According to numerous authors covering Greek and Roman antiquity, the cults of the Lykomides, priests who were connected also with Onomacritus and are presented as (re)organizers of the mysteries of Andania and of the Boeotian Cabireia, were centred in two sanctuaries at Phlya. The daphnephoreion of Apollo and the telesterion of the Great Goddess of nature, who was a very ancient local divinity identified during the historic period with Rhea, Demeter and Cybele and worshipped with “βακχικὰ δρώμενα τοῦ Ὀρφέως”.

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Euripides himself was from Phlya and, when young, he had been an οἶνοχόος at the daphnephoreion of Apollo,

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the god worshipped by the citizens of Phlya also under the epithet ΔΙΟΝΥΣΟΔΟΤΗΣ, which means “who gave Dionysos” and constitutes an additional element of the Orphic synthesis characterizing the local cults of Phlya.

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Euripides' knowledge of these cults must be one of the most important factors of his attitude towards Orphism and Dionysism. As H. Jeanmaire, who follows M. Zielinski, writes: “à l'esprit et à la foi du poète, qui avait retrouvé (dans sa vieillesse) à l'égard des dieux les sentiments de piété dans lesquels il avait été élevé au temps où, jeune garçon, tel Ion dans le sanctuaire delphique, il était attaché au temple d'Apollon à Phlya, le dionysisme posait une énigme et un problème redoutable”.

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In conclusion, we believe that the ecstatic *dromenon* which is represented on the Ferrara krater is the same which inspired Euripides to describe the orgiastic ritual in honour of the Great

Goddess Rhea-Cybele and Dionysos in his tragedies. We also believe that this ritual, attributed to an Attic *secte* by Bérard and Durand, is the Orphic-Bacchic *dromenon* (βακχικὸν δρώμενον τοῦ Ὀρφέως) carried out in honour of the local Great Goddess of Phlya by a Lykomidean priest (such a priest may be represented on the Ferrara krater; the hieratic male figure playing the double flute, at the end of the group of dancers). Concerning the exact place where this rite was held, it must be the telesterion of Phlya. This was burned by the Persians but reconstructed by Themistocles, who also was a Lykomedes.

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The two statues on the Ferrara krater must be these of the local Great Goddess and Dionysos.

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Certainly, at some time between the post-classical times and late antiquity, these statues were replaced by a new cultic group which is represented on the three taurobolian altars from Phlya, dated to the 4th century A.D.

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This group is constituted by four statues, as Ph. Williams-Lehmann has pointed out,

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it reminds one of the cultic group of the temple of the Great Goddess of nature, Despoina, at Lykosoura, where the presence of Anytos is connected by Pausanias to Orphic religion.

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The statues of Phlya were those of the Great Goddess (Demeter- Rhea-Cybele), of Kore, of Hekate and of a young god. The last mentioned must be Dionysos-Iacchos, represented according to the iconography of the Roman period, or Hermes, who was an important god in the local pantheon of Phlya. This cultic group corresponds to the new factors which constituted the religious reality of Hellenistic and Roman antiquity: the importance of the mystic cult of every feminine great deity is increased and absorbs (or minimizes) the presence of her male *πάρεδρος*. More especially, at Phlya the religious reality of the Hellenistic, but principally of the Roman period, is also defined by the penetration of the Lykomides into the priesthood of Eleusis, without abandoning, of course, their own sanctuaries at Phlya.

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Furthermore, during the Roman period, citizens from Phlya had been priests or priestesses not only of the Eleusinian cult, but also of the cult of Meter of Peiraeus.

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Bibliography

Scholars have always been impressed by the identification of Demeter and Rhea-Cybele by Euripides, especially in the tragedy *Helen*, where the mother of Kore-Persephone is not the Eleusinian goddess of agriculture, but the Phrygian Great Mother: she is called μάτηρ θεῶν as well as ὀρεΐα, she is rides on a chariot drawn by lions.

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H. Graillot

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formulated the hypothesis that the identification of Demeter with Rhea-Cybele by Euripides must be inspired by a hymn of the Eleusinian ritual. But archaeological evidence and written sources agree that, at least during the classical period, Rhea-Cybele was absent at Eleusis.

9

The Euripidean identification leads directly to Orphism, in which the great feminine deity of nature was very closely related to Dionysos, as happens in the verses from *Helen* quoted above. This relationship between the great goddess and Dionysos is ascribed by H. Grégoire and L. Méndier, E. Will, and G. Mylonas

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to the “personal religious beliefs” of Euripides, who, according to G. Mylonas, “ὁ Εὐριπίδης, ὁ ὁποῖος ἔρρεπε πρὸς τὴν θεοκρασίαν, ἦτο δυνατόν ἀνεξαρτήτως καὶ ἄνευ ὀρφικῆς ἐπιδράσεως νὰ ἔγραψε τοὺς στίχους ἐκείνους. Θὰ τοῦ ἦτο δυνατόν νὰ σκεφθῇ ὅτι ἡ Δημήτηρ καὶ ἡ Ρέα-Κυβέλη ἦσαν προσωποποιήσεις τῆς Γῆς καὶ νὰ τὰς ταυτίσῃ ἀνεξαρτήτως. Σχετικῶς προσθέτομεν ἀπὸ τὰς Βάκχας τοὺς στίχους 275–276 τῆς ὑπθέσεως ταύτης:

Notes

- 1 For full references see Cl. Bérard, *Anodoi. Essai sur l'imagerie des passages chthoniens*, Neuchâtel 1974, 73, n. 2.
- 2 L. Lawler, “The Maenads: A contribution to the study of the dance in ancient Greece”, *MAAR* 6 (1927) 107.
- 3Cf. Bérard (*supra* n. 1).
- 4 Cl. Bérard and J.-L. Durand, “Entrer en imagerie”, in Cl. Bérard *et al.*, *La cité des images. Religion et société en Grèce antique*, Lausanne and Paris 1984, 19–33.
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- 16 Theophrastus, *Char.* 16.11.
- 17Cf. Loucas (*supra* n. 9), 169–186 (with full references).
- 18 Hippolytus, *Elenchos* 5.20. Cf. also I. and É. Loucas, “Un autel de Rhéa-Cybèle et la Grande Déesse de Phlya”, *Latomus* 45: 2 (1986) 392–404; *idem*, “Delphinion ou Daphnephoreion? Sur la localisation de la scène de la face principale du cratère en cloche n° 3760 de Copenhague”, *AntCl* 59 (1990) 70–78; I. Loucas, “Le daphnephoreion de Phlya, la daphnéphorie béotienne et l'oracle de Delphes”, *Kernos* 3 (1990) 211–218.
- 19 Athenaeus 10.424:e–f.
- 20 Paus. 1.31.4.
- 21 H. Jeanmaire, *Dionysos. Histoire du culte de Bacchus*, Paris 1951, 141–142; Th. Zielinski, “L'évolution religieuse d'Euripide”, *REG* 36 (1923) 459–479.
- 22Cf. Plut. *Themist.* 1.4.
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- 24 Ph. Williams-Lehmann, “The technique of the mosaic at Lykosoura”, in *Essays in Memory of K. Lehmann* (Suppl. Marsyas I), 1964, 190–197, esp. 196, n. 30.
- 25 Paus. 8.37.5–6.
- 26Cf. Loucas (*supra* n. 9), 82–96; Mylonas (*supra* n. 10), 234–235.
- 27Cf. Loucas (*supra* n. 9), 96–106.
- 7 Eur. *Helen*, 1301–1302, 1308–1311, 1347, 1356.

8 H. Graillot, *Le culte de Cybèle Mère des Dieux à Rome et dans l'empire romain*, Paris 1912, 504.

9Cf. I. Loucas, *ΗΡέα-Κνβέλη και οι γονιμικές λατρείες της Φλύας*, Athens 1988, 29–30 (with related bibliography).

10 H. Grégoire and L. Meridier, *Euripide V*, Paris 1950, 105; E. Will, “Aspects du culte et de la légende de la Grande Mère dans le monde grec”, *Colloque de Strasbourg: Eléments orientaux dans la religion grecque ancienne* (1958), Paris 1960, 95–111, esp. 100; G. Mylonas, “Μαρτυρίαι Χριστιανῶν συγγραφέων διὰ χὰ μυστήρια τῆς Ἐλευσίνοϛ”, *Scientific Yearbook of the Faculty of Philosophy of Athens University* 9 (1958–59) 7–58, esp. 19, n. 1.

Herakles at Feast in Attic Art: a Mythical or Cultic Iconography?

★

Annie Verbanck-Piérard

“If you attend a cult meal in a sanctuary of Heracles, this is a cult act. But your experience is enhanced by the presence of Heracles and what you know mythologically about him. Then you go home and drink from a cup and there he is!”

1

Introduction

1

Once again Herakles, and once again Herakles at feast? Let us admit that the subject is appealing in many ways and still raises many questions, but there is no final consensus, on two fundamental points at least: the *classification* and the *interpretation* of the scenes. After a brief review of the first of these problems, this talk will concern itself essentially with the second topic and will try to propose new or different questions and further readings, rather than dictate illusory certainties.

1. Identification and classification of the subject

The imagery of Herakles at feast is very complex, very fluid.

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Contrary to other stereotyped episodes of the Heraklean myth, the identification of iconographical units and of homogeneous series is not an easy matter, and we can not ignore these obstacles at the very beginning of our survey. The schema “Herakles reclining” is used in so many different contexts – such as in the presence of gods and goddesses, of mythical kings, warriors, servants, satyrs, centaurs – and it is expressed with so many variants that we are obliged to ask as an initial question: *is it a single theme?*

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J. D. Beazley, in the mythological index of his *ABV*, for example, seems to consider it is not and distributes his *Herakles resting* into nine items, ordered according to the identity of the secondary figures.

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But when Herakles and Dionysos recline together, for example, which one is in fact the secondary figure? And there are other possible classifications. We can distinguish the feast on a *kline* and the feast on the ground:

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in the first case, the *kline* brings to mind a civic way of life

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and Athena is often present; in the second case, the feast on the ground, generally with Dionysos or satyrs, there is a truly rustic flavour and an allusion to the tradition of *stibades*.

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So we should admit that the ambience can differ, but how can we determine what is the best and most significant criterion for inferring a different meaning? All the nuances must be kept in mind. But, in order to avoid a “dilution” of this inquiry and for the sake of a momentary clarity, we shall concentrate here on the theme of Herakles reclining in a divine and non-narrative context and postulate its unity. Our attention will be centred mainly on Attic vases. Nevertheless, the representations of Herakles at banquet are just a part of the general iconography of the feast in Greek art and so evoke questions about eating and drinking in ancient society: what were the circumstances of a δεῖπνον? What did the συμπόσιον imply for the participants – human or Olympians? What does this

2. Interpretations or reflections?

2.1. Status quæstionis

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The iconography of Herakles reclining at feast has been diversely interpreted by scholars. We can discern three main trends.

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2.1.1. According to the current statement that Herakles is the perfect Greek hero – an idea which is in fact not really proved

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– some scholars have seen in such images the expression of a *temporary rest* of our Superman between two heroic labours, a short and relaxed pause in the narrative biography of Herakles.

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In that case, the scene should be located on earth. That's why Herakles can be sometimes attended by his mortal companion, Iolaos,

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or by his mother, Alkmene,

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or even by young men, busy with the service of wine from a crater, as on the Munich bilingual amphora, which is surely the masterpiece of the series.

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Moreover, the gods who attend the scene, Athena, Dionysos, Hermes, are generally said to be unspecific to a true divine assembly: they just escort Herakles. And Zeus is not there.

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For a few vases, this general meaning could also explain the material setting of the scene, indicated either by the casual presence of animals (dogs, cattle, etc.)

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or by the representation of landscape (trees, grotto, rocks).

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Another argument in favour of this legendary interpretation is the fact that, sometimes, the other face of the vase or the banquet itself shows Herakles in a well-known mythical episode. In particular, the

first appearance of Herakles at feast in Greek art is in the Palace of Eurytos, on a Corinthian crater of the mid-7th century.

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According to the same reasoning, the frequent presence of satyrs around Herakles, especially on Attic vases of the 5th century, is considered by the followers of E. Buschor as a clear allusion to drama. Thus we should have before us a kind of “stage Herakles” in a tragic, comic or satirical context, related to literary myths.

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Finally, the schema of the feast in itself is generally assumed to depict essentially either a human activity, at first reserved for aristocrats, or a heroic status. It appears for example in the iconography of Achilles and Priam

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and it will be used later to visualize the “new” heroes in many 4th century votive reliefs, which have been so well analyzed by J.-M. Dentzer who has refuted the theory of the *Totenmahl*.

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All these arguments look indeed very coherent and tend to underline the heroic aspects of Herakles, with or without a deeper and more specific meaning.

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2.1.2. The theme of Herakles feasting may also be considered as an expression of his *apotheosis*, at the end of his heroic life, when he becomes a god on Olympus.

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The setting could be the heavens or, at least, the happy Dionysiac world. This opinion is supported by the presence of gods near and around Herakles feasting: not only Athena, Dionysos and Hermes, as we have seen, but sometimes also Apollo, Poseidon or Ploutos.

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In an interesting case, the two silvered-tin phialai of New York,

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which could be Attic or influenced by Attic production, Herakles is banqueting in a true Olympian context, with Hebe reclining at his side, in the presence of other divine couples: Aphrodite and Ares, Apollo and a Muse, Dionysos and Ariadne. Moreover, this

iconography of a Herakles-god, recently admitted to the family circle of the Olympians, is emphasized by the representation, in the outer row, of the quadriga driving him to heaven. These two magnificent phialai are the best expression of Herakles' apotheosis while feasting with Hebe in Greek art; but, up to now, they seem to be isolated examples. It would be interesting to know more precisely the topographical origin and the conditions for creation of this schema, because this Assembly of gods celebrating a *Festin d'immortalité* will have followers in Etruscan and Italic art.

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Following a thesis by A. Alföldy different scholars have suggested a "special kind" of apotheosis: Herakles at feast symbolizes *der königliche Trunkenbold*, a schema created in the oriental art of the 7th century.

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This interpretation stresses the power of wine, suggested by the vases in the hands of Herakles or by the many Dionysiac elements of the representation, especially the vine growing in the background.

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It also underlines the evident impression of a luxurious and ostentatious way of life. On the other hand, this interpretation may remind us too much of the learned commentary of F. Cumont on Roman sarcophagi and eschatology.

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In fact, both interpretations, heroic scene or apotheosis, are attractive, but neither of them is really satisfactory, considering the entire corpus of representations.

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Furthermore, according to the date and the category of each document, it may well be necessary to postulate a relative and alterable message.

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2.1.3. There is also a third possible "reading" of the images, which has been generally misunderstood up to now and which is worth developing here: taking into account the *cultic background* of the representations of Herakles feasting. There is no need to remind ourselves here that no Greek picture, not even the scenes of pseudo-daily life, can provide a "photographic" reality of ancient practices.

The most justified approach is to seek out the plurality of *echoes*, especially religious ones, that we can attribute to an ancient figurative theme.

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From time to time, some commentators have suggested that the schema of Herakles at feast could refer to his cult and in particular to the well-known banquets held for him in his sanctuaries,

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and recent studies on the worship of Herakles in Attica seem to confirm the importance of hearty meals in his cult,

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which contains all the features of a divine cult.

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This way of reading the images doesn't contradict the two preceding interpretations.

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Rather, it transfers the discussion to another level, from myth to cult, from narration to epiphany. So, perhaps the opposition between the terrestrial and heavenly settings might be irrelevant, if we now refer to the imaginary space of a sanctuary.

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2.2. Some factual observations

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It is impossible to give a detailed account here of all the data and of all the associated questions: this brief contribution will try to present the main features of a more comprehensive investigation. Two series of facts, among others, induce us to attempt a cultic approach: first, the presence of some identifiable ritual elements or objects in the images and, secondly, the general evolution of the theme.

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As a preliminary remark, it must be noticed that the figurative schema of *reclining* is not restricted to human or heroic status. The numerous representations of Dionysos at feast

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prove that the schema in itself is also consistent with an expression of some kind of divine way of life. Nearly all the male gods can be shown reclining, even if it is generally preferred to show them seated during their Assemblies.

So, we may infer that the banquet figuration simply suggests a moment of quiet happiness and glory, or a situation of opulence, and generally expresses Greek good breeding and social significance.

In the case of the divine iconography, therefore, it is interesting to wonder why it seems to have been designed specifically for Dionysos and Herakles. Could it be because their religious personalities share so many common traits?

2.2.1. Eating and drinking...

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2.2.1.1. On an important fragment of a hydria of the mid-6th century, just at the beginning of our Attic series,

Herakles, reclining in the presence of Athena, Iolaos and another woman, actually points to a table laden with breads and cakes (or fruits?), garlands and pieces of meat. As Herakles seems to insist, let us try to examine briefly the role of the *trapeza* and of *food*, not only in the iconography of feast but also in the worship of Herakles.

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The *trapeza* is a very common feature in the representations of Greek banquets on *klinai*.

In Attic black-figure, for example on Siana, cups and in early red-figure, the table is covered with food: cakes in white colour, meat in red. Later on, in red-figure of the 5th century, the table is empty, as a rule, indicating another moment of the symposion, the δεῦτεροι τράπεζαι, the time of drinking wine, listening to music, discussing and making love.

It is interesting to note that, in the same generation, on a crater in Chiusi,

Herakles always retains his own portions of meat and the laden *trapeze*: it seems so important for him, at least until the second quarter of the 5th century.

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The table is, of course, also a familiar piece of furniture from the

household, or even the agonistic world.

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But couldn't we suppose that, for a Greek mind, the association of table and food, especially meat, also recalls the context of a *θυσία*, with the carving and the distribution of roast chunks of sacrificial animals. It is well known that, in ancient Greece, there is a deep religious link between consumption of meat, in sanctuaries or even in "private" banquet rooms, and the civic ritual of blood-sacrifice.

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The role of the *trapeza* during the festivals and its specific relation to the altar are attested by literary texts and inscriptions, as well as by the iconography of works of art and by archaeological remains.

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One of the best preserved examples is a stone table, now in the Epigraphical Museum of Athens, which is particularly relevant here: it has been dedicated by a priest of Herakles and his companions from Kydathenaion, who together formed a *thiasos* of Herakles.

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Some of them seem to have played a part in different comedies by Aristophanes, who knew very well indeed all the features of the worship of Herakles: significantly enough, one of his plays, located in a Herakleion, is entitled *Δαιταλεῖς*.

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The cultic *trapeza* was used not only to share the roast meat for human worshippers but also to deposit some unburnt food, cakes, fruits or even portions of the sacrificial animal, to the gods.

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This remarkable practice, which exists in different forms and in different cults, informs us of another way of ritual exchange between the human and the divine worlds: in this kind of offering, parallel with the system of the *thusia*, the god, as a guest, seems to accept and to share the human food or even, sometimes, a whole human meal.

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This is clearly a distinctive and interesting feature of the cult of Herakles;

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but, since this is not the place to investigate such a large question, we might just allude to two traditions, which bear out the importance of the ritual meal offering for Herakles.



Fig. 1a. London, British Museum B 446 (1864.10-7.1686). Face A: Dionysos and Herakles. Cup (type C, Preisscup); end of the 6th cent., Theseus Painter (ABV 520.32, *Addenda* 2 130). Photo: British Museum. Courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.



Fig. 1b. Idem. Face B: Hermes and Herakles.

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Firstly, the institution of *parasitōi*

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is attested for different Attic Herak-lean sanctuaries,

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obviously under State control.

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Secondly, the theme of *theoxeniai*

recurs in connection with Herakles in myth as well as in cult.

When Herakles arrives in the human world, whether real or not, his visit always takes the form, if not the name, of a *theoxenia* and occasions a full display of food. In Attica, the expression Ἡρακλῆς ξενίζεται was a favourite proverb.

This practice could also give a clue to interpretation of his behaviour on stage in the first part of Euripides' *Alkestis*, for example, when his joy in drinking and eating contrasts dramatically with the general tone of mourning.

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In the iconographical repertory of Attic vases, the ritual of *theoxenia* is clearly attested for the Dioskouroi:

on the Plovdiv hydria,

an empty couch and a table provided with food and two *kantharoi* prove that the divine twins are expected among their worshippers. Couldn't we imagine that, in some cases, the laden *trapeza* before Herakles' *kline* is circumstantial evidence for a similar context? Even in the scenes of the "rural" feast of Herakles, the simple indication of food posed on the rocky ground near the cushions could also reflect the important part of ritual meal-offering for him,

perhaps in his "sacred gardens".

However, what is important to emphasize is not an illusory topographical element of the ritual but the religious reminiscences inherent in such a theme.

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2.2.1.2. Recently some scholars have stressed Herakles' shocking *behaviour* toward alimentary consumption:

he seems to corrupt all the dinners he joins because he is so selfish, a glutton who deliberately ignores the rules of sharing ... Worse than all that, he is able to prepare his own pieces of meat alone, directly from cattle to his plate. Texts and images seem to agree. But this

“literary” vision reduces the many positive aspects of Herakles’ powers to the level of a caricature. Behind Aristophanes’ jokes, for example, there is a true respect and understanding of the god’s excessive attitude: his behaviour *must* be exceptional because he is outside the human system of distribution of meat,

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outside the feast as social organization.

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He has to found and to demonstrate the (first?) use of sacrificial δαίς, perhaps because he grants it, perhaps because he bridges the gap between cattle and roasted meat ready for consumption, just as Dionysos bridges the gap between grape and wine.

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The comparison with Dionysos is interesting in different ways. The representation of Semele’s son drinking wine doesn’t imply he is a hero because gods drink nectar only... It looks as if the mythical or “lexical” logic doesn’t quite work for such an iconographic interpretation; the hypothesis of a religious content fits far better. Some other indications tend to support the view that, in some cases, Herakles is represented as the god who specialized in meat eating. Thus, the knife he often holds seems to be a further sign. It already appears on the red-figure side of the Munich amphora,

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prominently laid near or upon the “steaks”, and soon becomes a true attribute, referring to the preliminary θυσία

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and confirming the moment and the act of meat consumption. It is difficult to consider the μάχαιρα as a mere expression of cruelty, as sometimes stated.

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Moreover, on a few vases where Herakles is shown with his carving-knife, there is no drinking vessel at all: just meat.

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In that way, it’s easier to understand why his relation to food has its own norms and functions and why he has so many links with cattle capture, breeding and sacrifice. In iconography, the indication of cattle evokes not only the landscape or a specific western adventure of the hero coming back from Geryon, but also one of his essential

properties.

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2.2.1.3. Vases for the gods?

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The equation Herakles/Dionysos is a mutual and reciprocal one. Dionysos doesn't mind receiving food on a *trapeza* or on the ground and, on the other hand, Herakles often enjoys good wine. Perhaps this is the reason why he uses a *kantharos* on so many images. But the *kantharos* is not a common vase.

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In the banquet iconography, it is nearly never handled by human symposiasts and always implies the user is a hero or a god, whether in a mythical or ritual context. In the "archaeology of cult", it is noticeable that this form of vase, of Boeotian origin, has been dedicated to Herakles, for example in a sanctuary located near Eleutherai.

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Did Athenian artists ignore the fact that the *kantharos* was sometimes related to the worship of Herakles, just like the *karchesion* or the *lebes* of the Oinisteria,

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or did they represent it *also* because it was consistent with religious practices? And, when Herakles is shown with a *kantharos* in his right hand on an important Attic relief of the Classical period, recently discovered in Rhamnous,

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we have some evidence to say it's not – or not only – a casual fact, or a Dionysiac feature, or a general reference to symposion, or a remembrance of his heroic life and after-life, but a precise indication of ex-votos offered to him in some of his sanctuaries.

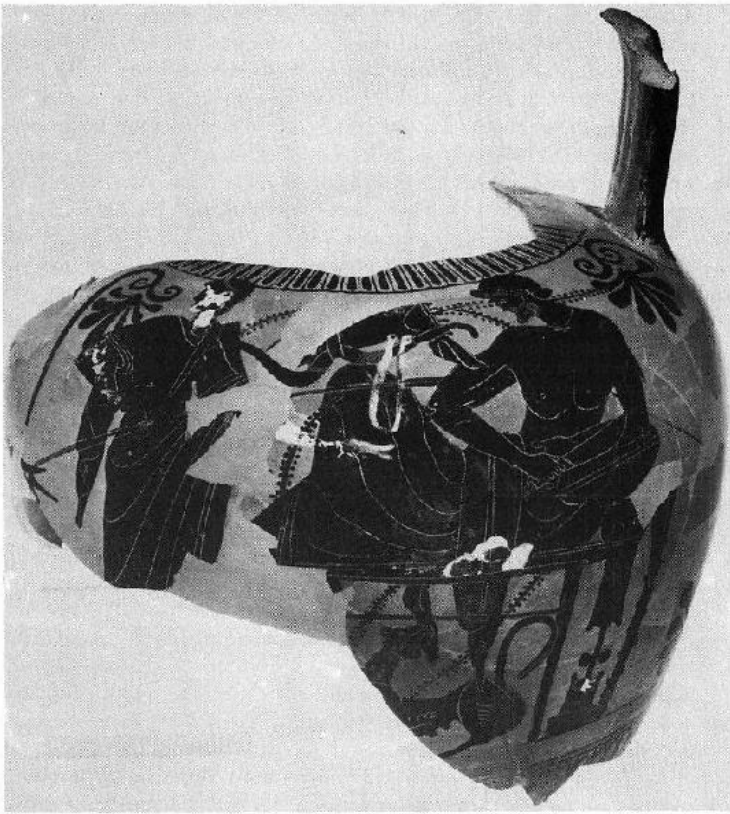


Fig. 2. Berne, Private Collection. Neck-amphora; end of the 6th cent. Photo: J. Zbinden, Seminar für klass. Archäologie, Universität Bern. Courtesy of R. Blatter and of the University of Berne.

28

The Rhamnous relief is also interesting for it is one of the first representations of the *cornucopia* as a Heraklean attribute.

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The only other known example prior to it is a late black-figure skyphos of the Theseus Painter, showing on side A Herakles holding out a filled horn with his right hand.

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This distortion in the drawing of the drinking horn

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is a noteworthy sign of the iconographical evolution, from a concrete allusion to the act of feasting and the handling of real vases to the construction of a more abstract and “votive” schema, emphasizing the sacred powers of the god of fertility and abundance.

2.2.2.1. Considering the evidence, it is clear that the iconography of Herakles at least exhibits a sudden flourishing in Attic vase-painting from 530 to 480 B.C. onwards. Moreover, in the last quarter of the 6th century, the theme of the *Banqueteur solitaire* begins characterizing Herakles and Dionysos;

72

it appears as an innovation, for the few representations of Herakles' feast up to then seemed to stress the collective aspect of the banquet. The new scene is complete in itself and is not an excerpt of a fuller picture. This specific configuration of the whole image surely has deliberate meanings; one of them could be explored here, as a methodological hypothesis.

It has long been recognized that traditional collective sympotic imagery has a deep social significance.

73

In the case of the solitary divine feaster, couldn't we suppose that the schema has evolved from having a social function to having a religious one,

74

just as if Herakles and Dionysos were invading aristocratic figurative privileges to generalize them on a different level? Now, in the same period, Athens is beginning to become a Πόλις and Athenians were looking for new definitions of citizenship: is it only a mere chronological coincidence? According to such a supposition, the imagery of the lone banqueteur should depict paradoxically a much more open structure than the collective symposion of the upper class, because it could be perceived as familiar and accessible by many worshippers: wealthy Attic *oikoi* as well as humble country people, metics and *nothoi*?

75

Moreover, it is now proved that the main feature of the festivals of *theoxeniai*, quoted in the preceding section, is to accept a wide public: they are festivals of integration and of temporary equality, especially in regard to food.

76

Herakles could be shown here as a god of reception and passage,

77

of integration and hospitality, just like his father, Zeus Ἡένιος. When reconsidering the whole series of representations of Herakles at feast, we are struck by the number of secondary figures that it is difficult to identify with certainty. They are generally assumed to be Iolaos, for example, or an Olympian god: Hermes, Ares,

78

... with many question-marks. A tentative proposition could be formulated here: to accept the anonymity of those figures, simply characterized as shepherds, as warriors

79

or merely as (ritual) banquet companions, who have been symbolically transferred to Herakles' side and, thereby, to consider them as "attributive". But it is, of course, quite out of the question to draw a distinct line between those human "pseudo-Iolaos" or "pseudo-Hermes" and the participants of a true divine feast. Attic painters, especially from the last quarter of the 6th century, often play with the interaction between all the potential meanings and consciously tend to exploit in their images variety in the visual impact of the components.

32

2.2.2.2. One of the last examples of the theme appears on a fine red-figure pelike in the British Museum, from about 430 B.C., showing Dionysos reclining with Herakles on the same *kline*.

80

The iconography of Herakles feasting tends to disappear from vase-painting in the course of the 5th and 4th centuries. How can we explain such a decline if we postulate an implicit religious meaning in the earlier representations? Two observations would help to reveal the reasons.

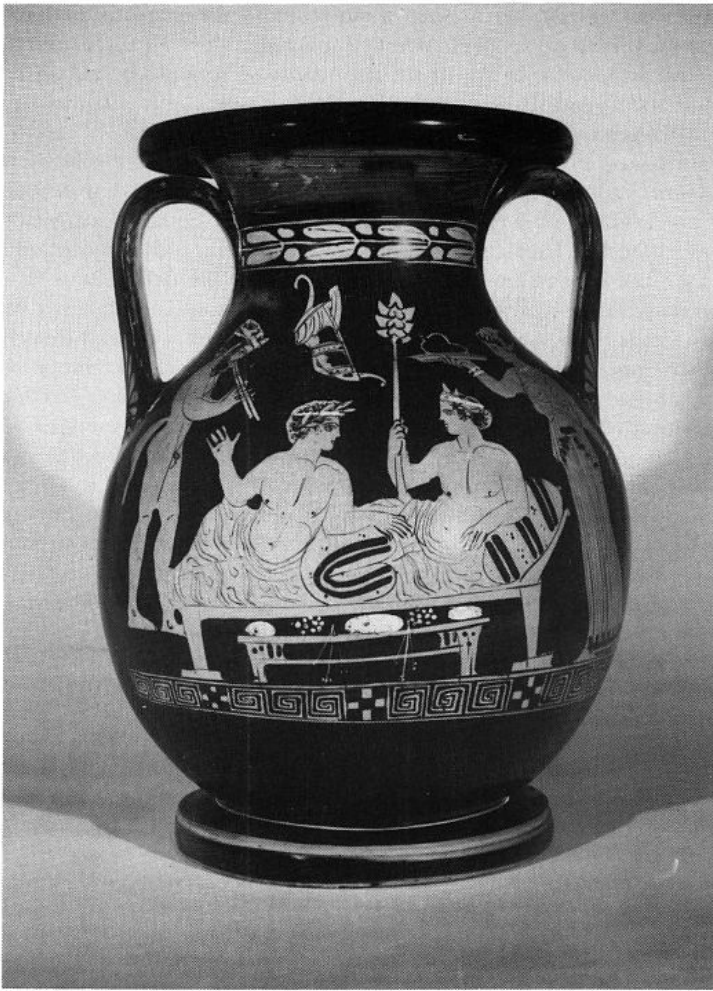


Fig. 3- London, British Museum 1956.2-17.1. Face A. Pelike; late 5th cent., Kadmos Painter (ARV2 1186.31). Photo: British Museum. Courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.

33

From the end of the 6th century, the schema of Herakles reclining at feast is correlated with new scenes of honour paid to the god *who sits*:

81

this direct link is sometimes perceptible between the two faces of a same vase,

82

or, at least, seems to be promoted by distinct painters or workshops.

83

The new iconography, generally called “court scenes”, will be

dominant in classical red-figure

84

and, in this case, most of the commentaries concur readily in acknowledging the cultic values of the composition:

85

perhaps these references to a ritual context have been borrowed from the traditional and old-fashioned theme of the reclining feast and now are assumed in a more explicit way?



Fig. 4. Berne, Private Collection. Fragment of skyphos (Heron Class); end of 6th cent., Theseus Painter. Photo: J. Zbinden, Seminar für klass. Archäologie, Universität Bern. Courtesy of R. Blatter and of the University of Berne.

34

Let's leave vase-painting and turn to sculpture. Indeed, Herakles at the banquet survives in *votive reliefs*, especially from the end of the 5th century and the motif is well attested during the Hellenistic and Roman periods, particularly in Attic art.

86

In itself, this fact leads us to believe that the iconography of Herakles reclining at feast was well adapted to a cultic context.

87

35

In sculpture, this schema is not really a “new” one, because it derives directly not only from black-figure vase-painting models, but also from archaic reliefs, such as the base discovered at Lamptraï.

88

Here and on later examples, Herakles nearly always lies *on the ground*. It is easy to think that this is just an accident of incomplete documentation. But, if we refer to the whole corpus of the *Banquet couché* collected by J.-M. Dentzer, it is also possible to consider that

the choice of this current schema is distinctive. Indeed, from the late 5th century, feasting on a *kline* with a laden table is the basic structure of a special kind of votive relief, the “heroic banquet”.

89

This is a temporary specialization of the iconographical model of the feast and doesn't imply that, initially, the schema has heroic connotations.

90

J.-M. Dentzer wonders why Herakles, the “perfect” Greek hero, remains so clearly outside this category of representations.

91

An interesting relief from Ainos in Thrace

92

could give a clue: it shows, in the presence of the anonymous hero reclining on his couch, a Herakles *sitting* near the laden altar and the laden table, in just the same position as Athena or Hermes who attended him before. So, even if Heraklean attitudes have often been used as reference for the creation of heroic patterns, it is evident that the aura of Zeus' beloved son can not be reduced to a heroic definition.

Conclusion

36

As a *conditional conclusion*, we may take for granted that the iconography of Herakles at feast, on vases or on reliefs, reveals a few elements obviously coherent with his cultic personality. For Herakles, as well as for his worshippers, eating meat after sacrifice satisfies a capital need and is a joyful occasion when they can be together in peace and opulence.

93

Perhaps the exact interpretation of his status in the image – is he a god, a hero, or both? – is not and was not the most important point. What the artists try to express here is the fact that, by feasting, Herakles *does* exist, very near his human fellows: he is not only the divinity who provides meat but also the god who dares participate in the human collective *deipnon*. His active presence, sometimes reflected on vases, creates good conditions for insuring important moments of civic and private life; it offers an interesting pretext for

sharing the common beliefs of the social group and for investigating immortality – whether in a mythical or cultic form, it doesn't matter, after all.

Acknowledgements

37

I am very grateful to Professor R. Hägg for his invitation to this interesting and fruitful Seminar, and to all the participants for their advices and encouragements.

38

I am indebted to the Trustees of the *Fonds National Belge de la Recherche Scientifique* for their generous grant and to Professor G. Donnay, Director of the Royal Museum of Mariemont, for having permitted me to attend the Seminar in Delphi.

39

For the improvement of my English text, I would like to thank my friends R.-M. Morgan, D. Williams and B. Cohen: it was a real proof of friendship. Of course, I am the only responsible for the Heraklean heresies presented here.

40

For sending the photographs and allowing their publication, my thanks are due to D. Williams (London), to R. Blatter (Bolligen) and to D. Willers and A. Zimmermann (Berne).

Notes

1 R. Parker, in Hägg, *EGC* 274.

2 General works: cf. already L. Stephani, *Der ausruhende Herakles* (Mémoires de l'Acad. de Saint Pétersbourg 6, 8, 1855); Roscher 1, 2 (1886) 2216-17 and 2250-51, s.v. Herakles (A. Furtwängler); P. Mingazzini, "Le rappresentazioni vascolari del mito dell'apoteosi di Herakles" (*MemLinc* VI, 1, 6, Rome 1925) 467-70; Metzger 209, 218-20, 224-29. More recently: Fehr, index s.v. Herakles; Dentzer, index s.v. Héraclès; Verbanck-Piérard 192-93; H. A. Shapiro, *Art and Cuit under the Tyrants in Athens*

(Mainz 1989) 159-61. S. Wolf's thesis, *Herakles heim Gelage* (Bonn 1989) is in press (*non vidi*).

3 In *Heldensage*³, the schema is not classified under a specific heading; main pages = 37 and 70, but also vases cited elsewhere. In *LIMC* IV s.v. Her., see 736, 777-79, 817-20; V s.v. Her., *passim* (e.g., 157, 159, 162, 170, 173, 180, ...).

4 ABV 726.

5 In Fehr's catalogue, there is a clear distinction between the feast "auf der Kline" and "zu ebener Erde".

6 J. Boardman, "Symposion Furniture," in O. Murray, ed., *Symptotica* (Oxford 1990) 122-31 (about the *kline*). I thank Mrs. O. Palagia for this reference.

7 For *stibades* and *skenai*, main ref.: L. Gernet, "Frairies antiques", in *Anthropologie de la Grèce antique* (Paris 1968) 21-61 (= REG 41 [1928] 313-59); J.-M. Verpoorten, "La Stibas ou Fimage de la brousse dans la société grecque", *RHR* 162 (1962) 147-60; Burkert, 107. Recently: A. Paradiso, "Le rite de passage du Ploutos d'Aristophane", *Metis* 2 (1987) 249-67, esp. 261-64; U. Kron, "Kultmahle im Heraion von Samos archaischer Zeit", in Hägg, *EGC* 134-48.

8 For important bibliography on the *symposion* in general: O. Murray (*supra* n. 6). For problems of terminology (esp. the specific meaning of δαίς, ξενία and συμπόσιον, considered as different but complementary rituals of conviviality): P. Schmitt-Pantel, "Sacrificial Meal and Symposion", in O. Murray (*supra* n. 6) 14-33. In the present article, a clear distinction between the various forms and moments of commensality expressed in the representations of Herakles at feast doesn't seem directly applicable nor necessary; in many cases, we can discern a kind of "montage" of interrelated iconographical elements.

9 A. Verbanck-Piérard, "Le double culte d'Héraklès: légende ou réalité?", *Lire les polythéismes* 2, 43-65; P. Lévêque et A. Verbanck-Piérard, "Héraclès héros ou dieu?", in C. Bonnet and C. Jourdain-Annequin eds., *Héraclès d'une rive à l'autre de la Méditerranée, Actes du Colloque int., Rome, 15-16 sept. 1989* (to be published in BIHBelge).

10 Especially for the 6th cent, vases: Metzger, 209 (but *cf. infra* n. 20 for later vases); K. Schauenburg, "Herakles unter Göttern", *Gymnasium* 70 (1963) 118; J. Boardman, "Image and Politics in 6th cent. Athens", in H. Brijder, ed., *Ancient Greek and Related Pottery, Proc. of the Int. Vase Symposium, Amsterdam, 12-15 April 1984* (Allard Pierson Series 5, Amsterdam 1984), 243-45 (with Athena): *LIMC* IV s.v. Her. 820.

11 Eg., *LIMC* IV s.v. Her. 820; *LIMC* V (1990) 686-96, s.v. Iolaos (M. Pipili) esp. 695: "terrestrial setting".

12 London B 301: *LIMC* I (1981) 552-56, s.v. Alkmene (A.D. Trendall) 555, no. 17; *LIMC* IV s.v. Her. 817, no. 1489- This famous black-figure hydria by the Alkmene Painter (Circle of the Antimenes Painter) in fact shows a unique scene, perhaps with an exceptional significance, and it is difficult to infer from it a general interpretation. See Roscher (*supra* n. 2) 2217: "Alkmene vergöttlicht"; Verbanck-Piérard, 192; T.H. Carpenter, *Dionysian Imagery in Archaic Greek Art* (Oxford 1986) 112.

13 Munich 2301, by the Andokides and Lysippides Painters, *LIMC* IV s.v. Her. 817, no.

1487. From the important bibliography, we can select Carpenter (*supra* n. 12) 98 and 112.

14E.g., *LIMC* IV s.v. Her. 818, no. 1492, no. 1497 (here Fig. la-b), no. 1499.

15E.g., *LIMC* IV s.v. Her. 817, no. 1484; 818, no. 1495, no. 1496; 819, no. 1504.

16 Paris E 635, *LIMC* IV (1988) 117-19, s.v. Eurytos I (R. Olmos) 118, no. 1. This banquet is also an exceptional motif: see, e.g., Fehr, 28-31; Dentzer, index s.v. Eurytios. However, "there are few mythological occasions of possible relevance" for the feast, as stated in *LIMC* IV s.v. Her. 817.

17 Fehr, 82-83. Some general references: E. Buschor, *Satyrtänze und frühes Drama* (SBMünch 5,1943); Metzger, 29-32, 394-405; Schefold, 181; R. Vollkommer, *Herakles in the Art of Classical Greece* (Oxford 1988) 61-78: his chapter "Herakles and Drama" tends to include all the Classical Heraklean scenes where a satyr is present; this is of course an excessive position. *Contra*: A.-F. Laurens et F. Lissarrague, "Le bûcher d'Héraklès", *Lire les polythéismes* 2, 90-91 (about the episode of the robbery of Herakles' weapons).

18 Fehr and Dentzer, index s.v. Achilles; *LIMC* I (1981) 37-200, s.v. Achilles (A Kossatz-Deissmann) esp. 147-52.

19 Dentzer, Chs. VII and VIII.

20 H. Knell, *Die Darstellung der Götterversammlung in der attischen Kunst des VI. und V. Jahrhunderts v. Chr.* (Freiburg 1965) 50-52: "Sinnbild der Vergöttlichung"; K. Schefold, *Götter- und Heldensagen der Griechen in der spätarchaischen Kunst* (Munich 1978) 44-46; H. A. Shapiro (*supra* n. 2) 159-60. According to K. Schauenburg (*supra* n. 10) and Metzger, 209-24, there is a general evolution during the 5th and 4th centuries, implying that the symbolism of the Apotheosis gradually increases and invades the images: old schema but new meaning.

21 For Apollo and Poseidon: *LIMC* IV s.v. Her. 818, no. 1499. For Ploutos (?): *LIMC* IV s.v. Her. 819 no. 1508, and V s.v. Her. 160.

22 New York 39.11.4 and 47.11.9, *LIMC* V s.v. Her. 162, no. 3313; noteworthy analysis by A.-F. Laurens, *Hébé. Images, mythes et cultes* (Diss. Univ. of Paris X-Nanterre 1985) 365-70; Schefold, 224; R. Vollkommer (*supra* n. 17) 35 (cat. 234-235) and 37.

23 A. Alföldi, "Die Geschichte des Throntabernakels", *NouvClio* 1-2 (1949-50) 537-66; Fehr, 70-71, 99 and 130; R. Blatter, "Herakles beim Gelage", *AA* 1976, 49-52.

24 Very conspicuous in the Munich bilingual amphora (*supra* n. 13). According to Metzger, 419, the theme of the Dionysiac bliss and immortality prevailed in the 4th cent, imagery and the banquet was one of the ways to the divine ecstasy; cf. p. 223: "L'immortalité promise à Héraklès n'est plus l'accession à l'Olympe: c'est une participation à la joie dionysiaque ou à l'abondance chthonienne".

25 F. Cumont, *Lux Perpetua* (Paris 1949) 246, 254-56. For a funerary significance in Roman art cf. *LIMC* IV s.v. Her. 777 and 795.

26 Schefold, 183, in his comment of an interesting Campana relief (Fig. 221), is right in asserting that "irdisches und olympisches Dasein in ergreifender Spannung stehen"; Dentzer, 117-18, summarizes the previous interpretations and concludes:

“on s’est interrogé, inutilement, sur le lieu où doit se situer la scène [...]”; he insists on the “valeur sociale du motif [...]”. Le banquet a pour premier effet d’intégrer Héraclès à la société des divinités [...] ou dans la société d’un prince (Eurytios). Dans toutes ces scènes, le trait anecdotique reste exceptionnel”.

27 K. Schefold (*supra* n. 20) 49 and n. 117; Verbanck-Piérard, 192-95; H. A. Shapiro (*supra* η. 2) 160-61.

28 Burkert, 211.

29 Cf. *supra* η. 9.

30 Dentzer, 513.

31 K. Schefold (*supra* n. 20) 48, considers the Greek sanctuaries as “Olymp auf der Erde”.

32 Dentzer, 118-19; T. H. Carpenter (*supra* n. 12) Ch. VI; LIMC III (1986) 414-514, s.v. Dionysos (C. Gaspard) 472.

33 Dentzer, 118: “Le banquet sur l’Olympe est une image littéraire classique, mais la scène n’apparaît jamais dans toute son ampleur, présidée par Zeus, dans le schéma du banquet couché, sur les vases actuellement connus. L’art grec a montré une certaine réticence à faire adopter la position couchée à l’ensemble des Olympiens”. Hermes doesn’t mind reclining: LIMC V s.v. Her. 166–67. He is sometimes very near Herakles for his behaviour towards *thusia* and meals, e.g., *Anth. Pal.* IX, 72 and 316; cf. recently J. Strauss-Clay, “Hermes’ *Dais* by the Alpheus”, *Metis* 2 (1987) 221-234; LIMC V (1990) 285-387, s.v. Hermes (G. Siebert) 287, 331-32, 355. Apollo, Poseidon, Ploutos (or Plouton?), Ares and Hephaistos are very rarely shown reclining: *supra* n. 21-22 and *infra* n. 78. The famous red-figure cup by the Codros Painter, London E 82 (ARV2 1269,3) with Plouton, Zeus, Poseidon, Dionysos and Ares reclining, is exceptional: Dentzer 121-22; K. Schefold, *Die Göttersage in der klassischen und hellenistischen Kunst* (Munich 1981) Figs. 303-305. On Attic votive reliefs, the schema of the feast is applied to Zeus Epitoleios Philios (Copenhagen, Ny Carlsb. 1558: Dentzer, cat. R228), to ΘΕΙΟΣ and ΘΕΙΑ (Athens, NM1519, from Eleusis: Dentzer, cat. R234); cf. also the Dioskouroi on Tarentine reliefs: Dentzer, 197 and LLMC III (1986) 567-93, s.v. Dioskouroi (A. Herniary) 577.

34 F. Lissarrague, *Un flot d’images. Une esthétique du banquet grec* (Paris 1987) esp. 23-48 (“L’espace du cratère”), 140, n. 4, with ref. to P. Schmitt-Pantel, *La Cité au banquet* (Diss. Univ. of Lyon 1987 – *non vidi*).

35 Fragments of a black-figure hydria in the Coll. H. Cahn, Basel, attributed to the Archippe Group: J. Boardman (*supra* n. 10) 244, Fig. 1; H. A. Shapiro (*supra* n. 2) 160 and Pl. 72a; LLMC IV s.v. Her. 817, no. 1486.

36 G. M. A. Richter, *The Furniture of the Greeks, Etruscans and Romans* (London 1966) s.v. “Table”. Many references in C. Goudineau, “Ἱεροὶ Τράπεζαι.”, *MEFRA* 79 (1967) 77-134 (esp. regarding the symbolic values of the table).

37 R. Schmitt and A. Schnapp, “Image et société en Grèce ancienne: les représentations de la chasse et du banquet”, *RA* (1982) 57-74; dessert list of the δεύτεραι τράπεζα;: Ath. XIV 642e (cf. Dentzer, 521).

38 Red-figure crater, Chiusi 1849, by the Flying-Angel Painter: *LIMC* IV s.v. Her. 819, under no. 1508 = Dionysos no. 581 (on face B, komos of men and young men around a crater). To compare with, e.g., a stamnos of similar date, Oxford 1965.127, with a human symposion: see F. Lissarrague (*supra* n. 34) 28-31. Let's note on the Chiusi crater the accurate drawing of the furniture (legs of the *klinai*), which evokes a "real" banquet-room.

39 C. Goudineau (*supra* n. 36) 79-80: "tables funéraires et agonistiques", 131-32.

40 M. Détienne and J.-P. Vernant, *La cuisine du sacrifice en pays grec* (Paris 1979); C. Bérard et al., eds., *La Cité des images* (Paris - Lausanne 1984) 49-57; J.-L. Durand, *Sacrifice et labour en Grèce ancienne* (Paris-Rome 1986) 116-23.

41 E.g., W. Deonna, "Le mobilier délien", *BCH* 58 (1934) 1-90; S. Dow and D. Gill, "The Greek Cult Table", *AJA* 69 (1965) 103-114; D. Gill, "Trapezomata: a neglected Aspect of Greek Sacrifice", *HThR* 67 (1974) 117-37, esp. 119-20 for stone tables.

42 *IG* II2, 2343 (= EM 10652), beg. of the 4th cent.; S. Dow and D. Gill (*supra* n. 41); H. Lind, "Neues aus Kydathen", *MusHelv* 42 (1985) 249-61, esp. 250-52 and Pl. 1. The word *thiasos* is also used by Diod. IV 24.6, about Herakles' festival in Agyrion (Sicily): cf. C. Jourdain-Annequin, "Héraclès Parastatès", *Lire les polythéismes* 1, 283-331, esp. 295-98 and n. 102.

43 Or Δαιχαλῆς, dating from 427; ref.: H. Lind (*supra* n. 42).

44 D. Gill (*supra* n. 41); Burkert, 68 and 96; U. Kron (*supra* n. 7) 147, nn. 68-69; L. Bruit, "The Meal at the Hyakinthia: Ritual Consumption and Offering", in O. Murray (*supra* n. 6) 162-74, esp. 171.

45 L. Bruit (*supra* n. 44) and "Les dieux aux festins des mortels: Théoxénies *etxeniai*", in *Lire les polythéismes* 2, 13-25.

46 Burkert, 211; cf. also Verbanck-Piérard (*supra* n. 9) n. 54 for references.

47 Ath. VI 234c-239e; *RE* 18 (1949) 1377-81, s.v. Παράσιτοι (L. Ziehen); Verbanck-Piérard, n. 69; A. Verbanck-Piérard (*supra* n. 9) 53; P. Carlier, *La royauté en Grèce avant Alexandre* (Strasbourg 1984) 336-37; H. A. Shapiro (*supra* n. 2) 161. This ancient practice was probably mentioned in Solon's Laws, already with a civic and religious meaning: D. Whitehead, *The Denies of Attica, 50817-250 B.C.* (Princeton 1986) 13.

48 For the Kynosarges (Ath. VI 234e, quoting the ψήφισμα Ἀλκιβιάδου) and Marathon (Ath. VI 235d, quoting Philochorus = *FGrHist* 328F73).

49 E.g., D. Whitehead (*supra* n. 47) 193 (Marathon) and 207, n. 183 (Kynosarges).

50 *RE* 5 (1934) 2256-57, s.v. Θεοδαισία and Theoxenia (F. Pfister); *Kleine Pauly* 5 (1975) 732-33, s.v. Theoxenia (D. Wachsmuth); Dentzer, 515-16 (with a distinction between the *Theoxeniai* and the offering called κλίνη καὶ τράπεζα); Burkert, 107; L. Bruit, "Sacrifices à Delphes", *RHR* 201 (1984) 339-67 (see also *supra* nn. 44 and 45); D. Flückiger-Guggenheim, *Göttliche Gäste* (Europäische Hochschulschriften III, 237, Bern-New York 1984).

51 E.g., L. Bruit (*supra* n. 45) 17-19, 24 n. 54; A. Verbanck-Piérard (*supra* n. 9) 50, n. 54-55; D. Flückiger-Guggenheim (*supra* n. 50) 70-78.

52 Ar. *Lys.* 928 and schol.

- 53 Eur. Alc. 509-567, 747-860. The theme of good hospitality toward gods is a “leit-motiv” of this tragedy: Admetus is φιλόξενος (858) and his palace is a πολύξεινος οἶκος (568). The “resurrection” of Alcestis is presented as a reward for this generous *xenia*.
- 54GGR3 410; UMC III (1986) 567-93, s.v. Dioskouroi (A. Herniary) 576-77, 591, with previous bibliography; H. A. Shapiro (*supra* n. 2) 149-54.
- 55ARV2 1187, 36, by the Kadmos Painter; UMC *ibid.* (*supra* n. 54) 577, no. 114; Schefold, 33.
- 56 Two interesting black-figure cups should also be mentioned here, even if their interpretation must be very cautious. First: San Francisco, Hearst Hillsborough Coll. (LIMC IV s.v. Her. 818, no. 1500), A: Dionysos reclining under a grape arbor; B: Herakles reclining (like Dion.); tondo: two women preparing a couch with pillows. Allusion to a *theoxenia*?; for Herakles alone or with Dionysos? Cf. I. Raubitschek, *The Hearst Hillsborough Vases* (Mainz 1969) 48. Secondly: Taranto 6515, by the Theseus painter (LIMC IV s.v. Her. 734, no. 15. Same type of cup as the London cup, here Pl. 1: they are listed together in ABV 520, 32-33), A and B: symposium on the ground; tondo: statue of Herakles. Is there a link between the outside and inside scenes? Already discussed in Verbanck-Piérard, η. 69.
- 57 Allusion to his ἡπιότ in Attica: cf. the famous inscriptions of the *genos* of the Salaminioi in Sounion, W.S. Ferguson, “The Salaminioi of Heptaphylai and Sounion”, *Hesperia* 7 (1938) 1-68, esp. 9-10, inscr. 2 (Inv. Agora I 3394) lines 34-35. For his well-known gardens in Thasos see C. Bonnet, *Melqart* (Studia Phoenicia VIII, Leuven-Namur 1988) 362-365.
- 58E.g., J.-L. Durand, “Du rituel comme instrumental”, in M. Detienne et J.-P. Vernant (*supra* n. 40) 180-81; *idem* (with F. Lissarrague), “Héros cru ou hôte cuit”, in F. Lissarrague and F. Thélamon eds., *Image et céramique grecque, Actes du Colloque int., Rouen, 25-26 nov. 1982* (Rouen 1983) 153-67; D. Noël, “Du vin pour Héraklès”, *ibid.*, 141-50; J.-L. Durand, *Sacrifice et labour...* (*supra* n. 40) 149-73. Contra- P. Lévêque et A. Verbanck-Piérard (*supra* n. 9), 2nd part, § 4.2. Generally, the mythical episodes of “*xeniai* ratées” (e.g., Herakles by Pholos, Busiris and Theiodamas) have been well studied and put forward, but extrapolated *a priori* for other contexts.
- 59 J.-L. Durand, *Sacrifice et labour...* (*supra* n. 40) 198: “Héraklès détruit l’édifice sacrificiel”; in fact, Herakles’ arrival often precedes the institution of a festival (cf. in Lindos) or destroys a perverted θυσία.
- 60 The expression is borrowed from O. Murray, “The Symposium as Social Organisation”, in Hägg, GR, 195-99.
- 61^{Supra} n. 13.
- 62 For the symbolism of the μάχαίρα see J.-L. Durand, *Sacrifice et labour...* (*supra* n. 40) 103-115 and Fig. 38. According to P. Schmitt-Pantel (*supra* n. 8) 19, n. 32, Herakles appears in the position of the *mageiros*.
- 63Cf. R. Blatter (*supra* n. 23) 52, n. 15.
- 64E.g., black-figure neck-amphorae of the last third of the 6th cent.: Hamburg

1917.470, *LIMC* IV s.v. Her. 817, no. 1483; Tarquinia RC 1635, *LIMC* IV s.v. Her. 817, no. 1488, H. A. Shapiro (*supra* n. 2) 160 and Pl. 72c; Berne, Private Coll., *LIMC* IV s.v. Her. 818, under no. 1493, R. Blatter (*supra* n. 23), here Fig. 2.

65 Recently: T. Carpenter (*supra* n. 12) 117-22; H. Hoffmann, "Rhyta and Kantharoi in Greek Ritual", in *Greek Vases in the J. Paul Getty Museum* 4 (Occasional Papers on Antiquities 5, Malibu 1989) 131-66. Kantharos on Archaic stelai (Laconia and Boeotia): J. Boardman, *Greek Sculpture. The Archaic Period* (London 1978) 165; *idem* and D.C. Kurtz, *Greek Burial Customs* (London 1971) Fig. 47c. Kantharos as Dionysos' weapon: F. Lissarrague, "Dionysos s'en va-t-en guerre", in *Images et Société*, 111-20, esp. 113-14.

66 W. Hornbostel, "Erwerbung für die Antikenabteilung 1983", *Jahrb. des Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe Hamburg* 3 (1984) 176-79 = *SEG* 35 (1985) no. 36, where a parallel is suggested with the publication of other sherds said to come from Eleutherai: J. Ober, "Pottery and Miscellaneous Artifacts from Fortified Sites", *Hesperia* 56 (1987) 217-20. Kantharoi dedicated to Herakles in Tanagra: *SEG* 34 (1984) no. 367 and *SEG* 35 (1985) no. 411bis (ca. 500 B.C.).

67 J. Boardman, The Karchesion of Herakles", *JHS* 99 (1979) 149-51; F. Van Straten, "The Lebes of Herakles", *BABesch* 54 (1979) 189-91.

68 *UMC* IV s.v. Her. 779, no. 1062 ("mid 5th cent. B.C."); Schefold, 182 ("um 430").

69 P. Hartwig, *Herakles mit dem Füllhorn* (1883); K. Schauenburg (*supra* n. 10) 127, n. 104-106; *LIMC* IV s.v. Her. 756 (d), 776 (o), 779 (k), 780 (d); V s.v. Her. 186.

70 Basel Market, Emmerich 1964 (*UMC* TV s.v. Her. 818, no. 1498).

71 For the symbolism of the κέρας: Fehr, 30-31; Dentzer, 143-44; D. Noël (*supra* n. 58) 147.

72 Fehr, 62-82 ("Typus M 1"); some vases with Hermes: Fehr, 68-69. P. Schmitt and A. Schnapp (*supra* n. 37) 69; T. H. Carpenter (*supra* n. 12) 115.

73 E.g., P. Schmitt and A. Schnapp (*supra* n. 37); F. Lissarrague (*supra* n. 34).

74 Cf. H. A. Shapiro (*supra* n. 2) 161: "Herakles' absent companions are the mortal *parasitoi* who shared a meal in his name".

75 A. Verbanck-Piérard (*supra* n. 9) 51: "à cette ubiquité topographique correspond un véritable pluralisme social".

76 *Supra* n. 50. Also very important in the Roman *lectisternium*: M. Nouilhan, "Les lectisternes républicains", in *Lire les polythéismes* 2, 27-41.

77 Herakles as paradigm for initiation rites: C. Jourdain-Annequin (*supra* n. 42).

78 *LIMC* IV s.v. Her. 818, 820; *UMC* V (1990) 686-96, s.v. Iolaos (M. Pipili) 694, no. 56 and no. 57.

79 The presence of a bearded man with weapons is puzzling in the context of a banquet, because the participants had to leave their arms for the feast, esp. at home. A detailed study of the few occurrences should help to interpret such a figure. Meanwhile, see Fehr, index s.v. Waffen; Dentzer, 85-86, 96, 450 (weapons as indication of the upper class, on the vases of the Archaic period) and 489-90 (weapons as symbols of the heroes, on the Late Classical votive reliefs), where he

refers to a schol. Ar. *Vesp.* v. 823, quoting the Δαιταλεῖς: “εἶχον δὲ καὶ οἱ ἥρωες πανοπλία”, and to a proverb stating that the heroes were feasting equipped with their weapons, *Paroemiogr.* 1.24.64. For an unusual representation of warriors ΕΠΙΔΕΛΦΙΝΟΙ on a psykter by Oltos: F. Lissarrague (*supra* n. 34) 112-14.

80 London 1956.2-17.1, by the Kadmos Painter, *UMC* IV s.v. Her. 819, no. 1507, here Fig. 3. This presentation of the divine brothers feasting had likely an “Archaic” flavour, perhaps denoting a specific intention. The general atmosphere of the scene, with music on the left and offering of a tray on the right of the *kline/trapeza* group, reminds us of the Plovdiv hydria, by the same painter, quoted *supra* n. 55, in relation with the iconography of the *theoxeniai*.

81 The problems of interpretation raised by this important schema are related to those of the reclining feast iconography, but the development of these points would exceed the limits of this paper. There is no recent study of the general theme of the gods and heroes sitting, alone or in assemblies, either in a mythological or cultic context; some ref. in Dentzer, 21 and 429-30. For Herakles cf. *LIMC* IV s.v. Her. 772-77, 801-804; V s.v. Her. 145, 147-49, 154-56 (*passim*), 162-63, 166, 169-72, 177-79, ... The diffusion of the Herakles Επιτραπέζιος type in sculpture is well documented: F. De Visscher, “Héraklès Epitrapezios”, *AntCl* 30 (1961) 67-129 is the classical article.

82 E.g., black-figure cup, once Canino (unknown whereabouts), *LIMC* IV s.v. Her. 818, under no. 1493.

83 The Theseus Painter is creative as well as coherent in his iconography of Herakles (*supra* n. 56). He offers a lot of images of Herakles’ feast, esp. on skyphoi (here Fig. 4), and focuses the new motive of Herakles sitting alone, regaled by Athena: cf. *ABV* 519, 18; *LIMC* V s.v. Her. 149, no. 3160 and no. 3161.

84 In general: Metzger, 210-29; for the presence of Hebe in these scenes and its significance: A.-F. Laurens, “Identification d’Hèbè?”, *Images et société*, 59-72.

85 Metzger, 229: “au 4^e siècle, l’accent est mis désormais sur l’aspect cultuel de représentations qui, jusqu’alors, n’avaient eu qu’un intérêt légendaire ou poétique”; J. Boardman, *Athenian Red Figure Vases. The Classical Period* (London 1989) 221: “the ‘court’ scenes, with Apollon, Dionysos or Herakles at the centre, imply at least some communion with worshipping mortals although they are often peopled with other immortal figures”. Of course, the problematic representations of the so-called “four-column Herakleion” tend to support a cultic meaning: S. Woodford, “Cults of Heracles in Attica,” in *Studies presented to G. M. A. Hanfmann* (Harvard Univ. Monographs in Art and Archaeology II, Mainz 1971) 211-25, esp. 213-14; F. Van Straten (*supra* n. 67) nn. 4-6; Metzger, 228, is right in laying stress on the fact that “tous nos documents n’ont pas la netteté du cratère d’Athènes 14902”. For R. Vollkommer however (*supra* n. 17) 70, it is a “stage construction”. *LIMC* IV s.v. Her. 801-802.

86 E.g., *LIMC* IX s.v. Her. 777-79; H. Scharmer, *Der gelagerte Herakles* (BWPr 124, Berlin 1971).

- 87** For the sanctuary of Hercules Cubans in Rome: Nash, 462; *LIMC* IV s.v. Her. 779, no. 1061.
- 88** Marble statue base, Athens NM 42 and 3579, about 500: *LLMC* IV s.v. Her. 736, no. 52; J. Boardman (*supra* n. 65) Fig. 261.
- 89** Dentzer, 309 and 328-29.
- 90** According to a current statement, Herakles' feast is to be regarded as a kind of "heroic epiphany", parallel to the later reliefs: however, this comparison is based on a misleading anachronism; cf. *supra* § 2.1.1.
- 91** Dentzer, 512.
- 92** Istanbul inv. 1034; Dentzer, cat. R 79 and Fig. 343.
- 93** Cf. F. H. Van Straten, "Did the Greeks kneel before their gods?" *BABesch* 49 (1974) 159-89, esp. 176: Herakles belongs to "that group of deities which [...] were not too distant to meddle with the affairs of human beings". He is Ἀλεξίκακος, Σωτήρ, Ἐπήκοος, ...

Endnotes

- * In addition to the customary abbreviations, the following are used: Burkert = W Burkert, *Greek Religion* (transl. by J. Raffan, Oxford 1985)
- Dentzer = J.-M. Dentzer, *Le motif du banquet couché dans le Proche-Orient et le monde grec du vii^e au i^{er} siècle av. J.-C.* (BEFAR 246, Rome 1982)
- Fehr = B. Fehr, *Orientalische und griechische Gelage* (Bonn 1971)
- Hägg, EGC = R. Hägg et al., eds., *Early Greek Cult Practice, Proceedings of the Fifth International Symposium at the Swedish Institute at Athens, 26-29 June 1986* (ActaAth-4°, 38, Stockholm 1988)
- Hägg, GR = R. Hägg, ed., *The Greek Renaissance of the Eighth Century B.C., Proceedings of the Second International Symposium at the Swedish Institute in Athens, 1-5 June 1981* (ActaAth-4°, 30, Stockholm 1983)
- Images et société = C. Bérard et al., eds., *Images et société en Grèce ancienne, Actes du Colloque int., Lausanne, 8-11 février 1984* (Cahiers d'Archéologie romande 36, Lausanne 1987) *UMC* IV s.v. Her. = *LIMC* IV (1988) 728-838, s.v. Herakles (J. Boardman et al.) *UMC* V s.v. Her. = *LIMC* V (1990) 1-192, s.v. Herakles (J. Boardman et al.)
- Lire les polythéismes* 1 = P. Lévêque et al., eds., *Les grandes figures religieuses, Actes du Colloque int., Besançon, 25-26 avril 1984* (Annales littéraires de l'Université de Besançon 329 = Centre de Recherches d'Histoire ancienne 68, Besançon - Paris 1986)
- Lire les polythéismes* 2 = A.-F. Laurens, ed., *Entre hommes et dieux, Actes de l'ATP sur les Polythéismes, Montpellier, 1984-1986* (Annales littéraires de l'Université de Besançon 391 = Centre de Recherches d'Histoire ancienne 86, Besançon - Paris 1989)
- Metzger = H. Metzger, *Les représentations dans la céramique attique du iv^e siècle* (BEFAR 172, Paris 1951)
- Schefold = K. Schefold, *Die Urkönige, Perseus, Bellerophon, Herakles und Theseus in*

der klassischen und hellenistischen Kunst (Munich 1988)

Verbanck-Piérard = A. Verbanck-Piérard, "Images et croyances en Grèce ancienne: représentations de l'apothéose d'Héraklès au vie siècle", *Images et société* 187-99.

Some Comments on the Scene on the Cabiric Vase, Athens N.M. 424

Éveline Loucas-Durie

1 The black-figure Cabiric vase on which I will comment is exhibited at the National Archaeological Museum of Athens (inv. no. 424). The vase is very fragmentary and one of its faces is lost. Its height, after restoration, is 24 cm, its diameter 23 cm. The vessel is registered as a *kotylos*.

1 In Collignon and Couve's catalogue, however, it is designated as a "forme de *stamnos*",

2 and it has also been described as a *skyphos*

3 and by German authors as a "Napf",

4 *i.e.*, porringer, bowl.

2 The only preserved scene is on the upper part of the body between the two handles. G. Bruns

5 attributes it to the Mystae Painter who, according to K. Braun,

6 worked at the end of the 5th century B.C. until the beginning of the second quarter of the 4th century B.C.

3 The scene shows six figures who follow each other from right to left. The first one on the left (Fig. 1) wears a pointed cap, which covers the

cheeks, and is dressed in a tunic, the bottom of which is puffing out above the calves. This is certainly caused by the movement of the figure who does not seem to walk but rather to hop on tiptoe. It's arms are raised above its head, and in its joined hands it holds a *taenia*, a kind of band. The figure is certainly dancing; it could be a woman, but this is not certain. Following are two figures unusually positioned: we recognize a flute-player (Fig. 1), perhaps naked, with branches and a band around the head, mounted on the shoulders of a man with an emphasized *phallos* (Fig. 1). This figure holds in his right hand a bough which is used as a walking-stick. But he does not seem to really need any support: he is walking, hopping or running with vigorous strides. As far as the black wavy lines are concerned, I am convinced that they can be nothing else than the extremity of a band around his head.

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8
9



Fig. 1.

This singular couple precedes another which is seated on a cart drawn by a pair of ithyphallic, galloping donkeys crowned with branches. One of the figures (Fig. 2), most probably female, dressed in *chiton* and *himation*, is shown in a three-quarters view to the left but with the face turned back and shown in profile. Her right hand is

raised with open palm in front of the head, and her left, in a parallel position, holds a circular object seen in profile or three-quarters view between the faces of the two figures. The second figure (Fig. 2), shown in profile to the left and at some distance to the first, is crowned with branches, and tightly dressed in a *himation*. One hand is perhaps kept on the chest. The composition is closed by the last figure, partly damaged, a bearded man dressed only in a tight mantle thrown over his shoulders, and holding a long stick in his left hand. He has put one foot on the back of the cart and stretched the right hand to the edge of the seat. This attitude suggests that he is trying to get up on the cart.



Fig. 2.

5

This scene is an excellent example of Cabiric-ware iconography, which is so particular in its way of sketching each human figure as well as the action as a whole. Scholars have wondered about the connection between this iconography and dramatic or pre-dramatic performances, on the one hand, and with the teaching of the Cabiric Mysteries on the other, and also with these two kinds of *dromena* together.

10

I will not try to answer this general question in this paper. Here I will restrict myself to the level of reading of the scene: the identification of the represented topic. I shall not discuss the negroid features of

the faces of the figures (figs. 2 to 5), or the morphology of their bodies which may or may not be a caricature, the mode of which may or may not be one of parody.

11

However, we cannot deny a rough and ready sense of humour. And wherever humour is present, there is by necessity a reference to reality, to something known, so that the scene does not seem irrelevant or strange but, at least, humorous.

6

What kind of beings are these figures? Gods, demons, heroes or humans? All these are shown on Cabiric-ware vases. There is nothing here to suggest maenads and satyrs.

12

Their features have been characterized as those of Negroes and especially of pygmies, and they have sometimes been connected with the Kabiroi themselves on the testimony of some literary sources according to which these divinities originated from Egypt or Africa.

13

However, the Theban Cabiric divinities distinguish themselves from those of the sanctuaries in the Aegean and Asia Minor.

14

They are Kabiros who could be easily confused iconographically with Dionysos if his name was not inscribed, and the *Pais*, the *oinochoos*. They were also named Megaloi Theoi. The other divinities in their nearby environment at the Kabirion near Thebes (especially from the vase iconography) are the Dioskouroi, Hermes, Pan and a goddess, the Meter. The latter is mentioned in the manuscripts of Pausanias and because of the mention of Kore this designation is generally understood as being another name for Demeter.

15

7

In our scene, there is nothing especially which appears to be a divine attribute. The circular object in the hand of the woman on the cart has been recognized as a *tympanon*; therefore this figure has been considered to represent the Great Mother accompanied by other divine or demonic beings.

16

However, this interpretation actually takes place on the second reading level of the scene, *i.e.*, as far as the role played by the acting

figures is concerned (they are not themselves, but the *hypostaseis* of something else).

8

On the other hand, the figures have no attributes of the heroes which are well-known from the iconography of other Cabiric vases with heroic themes, for example, Odysseus, Bellerophon, Kadmos and so on.

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The figures as well as the action represented seem to belong to the human sphere.

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We can classify the previous identifications of our scene into two categories. According to the first, it is a wedding procession, and therefore the figure (Fig. 5) is male, the bridegroom. The cart with the bride and the bridegroom is preceded by the bridesmaid, dancing, a flute-player and a man whose function is generally not defined. H. L. Lorimer described the newly-weds in a manner which gives an anecdotal explanation of the right part:

19

“The bride and the bridegroom are seated side-by-side on separated stools. The bride holds in her left hand a circular object, apparently a hand-mirror, on which her eyes are fixed. The bridegroom is an elderly man whose baldness is partly concealed by a wreath. The *parochos*, whether by mischance or malice, has been left behind, an accident likely enough, at a wedding of this type (sc. a wedding procession from low life, and grotesquely treated) to befall a person so obviously superfluous, and is vainly endeavouring to get up at the back of the cart.” É. Lapalus agreed with the wedding interpretation, but includes it in the frame of the Cabiric Mysteries so that it shows a *hieros gamos* played by the initiates or the priests.

20

The reasons for this were the branches, the bands, and the tightly robed figure in *himation*. In my opinion, Lapalus was right to point out those details which otherwise determined the name *Mystae Painter*: we can recognize them on other Cabiric vases where obviously a cultic scene is shown. As A. Schachter noticed when studying related representations in Cabiric iconography, headbands, branches stuck into the hair, mantles seem to be the special dress features of the

initiates.

21

But Lapalus did not explain what is going on to the right, while, on the other hand, he stressed the noise which is expressed by the musical instruments, the flute and especially, according to his interpretation, the *tympanon* or the kind of gong that the “bride” holds.

22

In 1976, in an appendix on the *komos* in her book *Recherches sur les acteurs dans la Grèce antique*, P. Ghiron-Bistagne also identified the scene with a wedding-procession, and more precisely with the one held at the Daidala festival.

23

But she does not prove this. According to Pausanias,

24

the Daidala festival was celebrated in memory of Hera’s and Zeus’ reconciliation, included the *mikra* and the *megala* Daidala. The first were celebrated by the Plataians every sixth year in a wood near Alalkomenes, and the second one, by all the Boeotians, every fifty-fourth year on mount Kithairon. The strong character of reconciliation between communities that marks this festival,

25

the absence of a relationship between the divinities of the Daidala and those of the Kabirion where Theban mythic elements are noticeable, and the fact that Thebes took part in the Daidala festival only after 316 B.C. when Kassandros had rebuilt the city,

26

all lead me to conclude that this identification of the scene is the least likely.

10

Furthermore, the identification of the scene as a wedding procession rises some questions when we compare it with the testimony of the literary sources and with other vase iconography.

27

There is usually also present a torch-bearer as well as a cithara player, but the most significant element is that the bride, holding generally a crown in her hand, is veiled, and in spite of the humorous character of our figured scene, the veil ought to be depicted in some way or other.

11

The other stream of interpretation is closer to the religious life of the sanctuary. G. Bruns did not exclude the possibility of the initiates' jolly coming-home from the festival.

28

But, according to A. Schachter, it is most probably a procession to the sanctuary.

29

The orderly way in which the personages follow each other, really brings to mind, in spite of the hurried and rushed speed, an officially organized procession to the sanctuary and not the break-up of a sacred event.

12

A long inscription of the first century B.C., the famous sacred law from Andania

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that refers to the celebration of the mysteries held at the Karnasion *also*, provides us with a testimony betraying a lot of details through which we can perceive more clearly the atmosphere of the event. This inscription is even more interesting for us because the divinities concerned are the Megaloi Theoi, related to Demeter and her local *Kore*.

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13

According to this sacred law, the participants of the procession must respect the following order: after a personage who appears as a kind of "chief-priest" as well as a sponsor of the local mysteries, come the priest of the gods in whose honour the mysteries are celebrated, the priestesses, the *agonothetes*, the *hierothutai*, the *auletai*, followed by the carts with the sacred virgins who keep the *cista* with *hiera mystica*; afterwards, the *thoinamostría* (the woman with the responsibility of the sacred banquet) and other officials of lesser importance. All this corresponds to the cultural etiquette and reflects a strict hierarchy. On the Cabiric, we can recognize an analogous disposition but "in reduction", reduced. All the figures are involved in the religious practices; someone is dancing (but is it a dancer?), there is a musician, and the *rabdós* of Fig. 3 and the stick of Fig. 6 could make reference to some official function. A few inscriptions of the third century B.C. give names of officials whose functions and links with the cult have not been exactly determined: a pair of priests,

14

The *pompe* of the Andania mysteries has been classified by M. P. Nilsson

among the offering processions towards the divinity or the divine place because it is specifically mentioned that the *pompe* of the Andania ceremony, although it occurs within a mystery cult, but a little before the celebrations of the mysteries, included the sacrificial victims; it presents, according to the Swedish scholar, the traditional scheme. So that this *pompe* could be compared with the iconographie evidence.

15

On our Cabiric vase however, no sacrificial victim is shown, nor the purpose of the procession.

Perhaps these elements were depicted on the now lost other face of the vase, although generally on Cabiric vases the pictures were not connected from one face to the other, though they could be related by theme.

16

But according to Nilsson's classifications, there are processions to a cult-place where a cult practice other than sacrifice is accomplished, a procession with a sacred, mystic object, as the *cista mystica*, the action of which is magic.

17

On the other hand, we do have some elements from the religious life of the Kabirion by which I could suggest an explanation for our procession. And as far as the anecdotal episodes of some part of the picture are concerned, little is left to the imagination.

18

If only the desire to emphasize could explain the use of a cart in a procession, it maybe combined with practical and (or) religious reasons. Our procession could occur at a sacred event joining the Kabirion to the alsos of the Meter *Kabeireia* and Kore, mentioned by Pausanias and which is c. 7 stades from the sanctuary.

19

Not all the participants wear the branches or a cap. The Andania inscription tells us that the head-dresses can be used to make difference between the participants and that they could be included in a symbolic way: the white *pilos* was worn by the priest and the priestesses, while the initiated participants wear a *stemma*, a crown; but when the priests gave the signal, they all change their head-dress for a laurel wreath.

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As far as the head-dress of the Fig. 1 is concerned, it has been described as a Phrygian cap,

37

or supposed to be one when the figure has been considered as a Phrygian,

38

though it is not wearing the Phrygian dress. On the other hand, we cannot decide whether it is a professional dancer or simply one of the members of the procession excited by the music of the flute-player. The last figure dominates the procession from the shoulders of his companion, as if it were meant that the musical rhythm, which seems to be unrestrained and wild, lead the members of the procession and provoked the rush.

39

This frenzy would be due to the Phrygian rhythm expressed by the dancing figure opening the procession.

21

The woman on the cart could have in her hand a *cista*, a van, or another mystic object, or more simply the seat cushion, such as the priestess of the Andania procession had on her seat. This could explain her attitude, as if she had to get up. With the object in her hand, she seems to try to keep the Fig. 6 away, in a gesture which evokes the famous statue of Aphrodite keeping the goat-legged Pan away. The scene would be yet more humorous, if Fig. 6 was an official, a *rabdophoros* as the stick could suggest, who, according to the Andania inscription, was in charge to keep order among the participants to the procession.

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Notes

1The vase was first mentioned in: “Von der Reise des A. Furtwängler”, in *PhilWoch* 47 (24 Nov. 1888) col. 1483; H. Winnefeld, “Das Kabirenheiligtum bei Theben. III. Die Vasenfunde”, *AM* 13 (1888) 412-428, esp. 422; *Prakt* 1888, 66-67.

2 M. Collignon and L. Couve, *Catalogue des vases peints du Musée national d'Athènes*, Athènes 1902, 352-353, no. 1132; as *stamnos*, R Ghiron-Bistagne, *Recherches sur les acteurs dans la Grèce antique*, Paris 1976, 223 and Figs. 76-78.

3 *Prakt* 1888, 66; H. L. Lorimer, “The Country Cart of Ancient Greece”, *JHS* 23 (1903) 132-151, esp. 137 and Fig. 3; R E. Arias, s.v. Cabirici, vasi, in *EAA* 2 (1959) 239-241, esp. 240 and Fig. 363.

4 G. Bruns and P. Wolters, *Das Kabirenheiligtum bei Theben I*, Berlin 1940, 108 (M.6; Pl. 33, Fig. 1).

5 Bruns and Wolters (*supra* n. 4), 105ff.

6 K. Braun and Th. E. Haevernich, *Das Kabirenheiligtum bei Theben IV: Bemalte Keramik und Glas*, Berlin 1981, 7-9.

7The breast is not emphasized, and the scholars who have determined the sex of this figure have expressed different opinions, for example Winnefeld (*supra* η. 1), 422; Lorimer (*supra* n. 3), 137; E. Pfuhl, *Malerei und Zeichnung der Griechen II*, Munchen 1923, 717 and Fig. 614; Bruns and Wolters (*supra* n. 4), 108; Arias (*supra* n. 3), 240; Braun and Haevernich (*supra* n. 6), 62 no. 289; A. Schachter, *Cults of Boiotia 2* (BICS Suppl. 38:2), London 1986, s.v. Kabiroi, esp. 100, n. 2, a woman; a man, *PhilWoch* 47 (24 Nov. 1888), col. 1483; Ghiron-Bistagne (*supra* n. 2), 223.

8Lorimer (*supra* n. 3), 137. Also Winnefeld (*supra* η. 1), 422.

9 Cf. Bruns and Wolters (*supra* n. 4), 108 with n. 3.

10 For example, M. Bieber, *Die Denkmäler zum Theaterwesen im Altertum*, Berlin and Leipzig 1920, 153; *idem*, *The History of the Greek and Roman Theater*, Princeton 19612 (1971), 48-49; G. Bruns, “Das Kabirenheiligtum bei Theben”, *A4* 1967, 228-273, esp. 268-273; Ghiron-Bistagne (*supra* n. 2), 223; É. Lapalus, “Sur le sens des parodies de thèmes héroïques dans la peinture des vases du Cabirion thébain”, *RA* 32 (1930) 65-88, esp. 86-88; *idem*, “Vases cabiriques du Musée national d'Athènes”, *RA* 37 (1935) 8-28, esp. 17-22; Pfuhl (*supra* n. 7), 715-716, 780; L. Séchan, *Etudes sur la tragédie grecque dans ses rapports avec la céramique*, Paris 1926, 49-50.

11 Parody of a religious *dromenon*, Lapalus 1935 (*supra* n. 10), 17-22, or of a rustic event, Schachter (*supra* n. 7), 100, n. 2. Cf. Bruns and Wolters (*supra* n. 4), 108; B. Hemberg, *Die Kabiren*, Uppsala 1950, 202.

12 As it is asserted in *PhilWoch* 47 (24 Nov. 1888), col. 1483, Collignon and Couve (*supra* n. 2), 353; cf. Lapalus 1935 (*supra* n. 10), 18.

13 On this question, see, for example, Hemberg (*supra* n. 11), 195-196, 202-203, 352ff; Schachter (*supra* n. 7), 99 with n. 3 (comments and bibliography), 100.

14 On the “Theban” Kabeiroi see, in general, W Burkert, *Greek Religion. Archaic and Classical*, Oxford 1985, 281-282; M. P Nilsson, *Geschichte der griechischen Religion I*, München 19673, 671-672, and esp. Hemberg (*supra* n. 11), 191-197; Schachter (*supra* n. 7), 88-96. Cf. also O. Kern, “Die Boiotischen Kabiren”, *Hermes* 25 (1890) 1-16, chiefly using literary testimonies to emphasize the relationship with orphism.

15 Paus. 9-25,5-6. See N. Papachatzis, Πανσανίων Ελλάδος περιήγησις. 5. Βοιωτικά και φωκικά, Athens 1981, 174 η. 2, 494; Schachter (*supra* η. 7), 88 with η. 5.

16 *PhitWoch* 47 (24 Nov. 1888), col. 1483. Cf. Lapalus 1935 (*supra* n. 10), 19.

17 See Lapalus 1930 (*supra* n. 10), 65-88, Braun and Havernick (*supra* n. 6), 26-29. Cf. Schachter (*supra* n. 7), 99 with n. 2.

18 See also Hemberg (*supra* n. 11), 202; Schachter (*supra* n. 7), 100.

19 Lorimer (*supra* n. 3), 137.

20 Lapalus 1935 (*supra* n. 10), 17-22, esp. 19, 22.

21 Schachter (*supra* n. 7), 108.

22 Lapalus 1935 (*supra* n. 10), 19-20.

23 Ghiron-Bistagne (*supra* n. 2), 221-223.

24 Paus. 9.3.2-6. On this festival, see F. Frontisi-Ducroux, “La fête béotienne des Daidala”, appendix 2 in *Dédale, mythologie de l'artisan en Grèce ancienne*, Paris 1975, Appendix 2, 193-216, and M. Rocchi, “Kithairon et les fêtes des Daidala”, *Dialogues d'Histoire Ancienne* 15: 2 (1989) 309-324, and esp. 315ff. for a bibliography and discussion of previous interpretations.

25 Rocchi (*supra* η. 24), 323.

26 Paus. 9.3,6; Papachatzis (*supra* n. 15), 39 n. 3.

27 On marriage in antiquity, see in general C. Vatin, *Recherches sur le mariage et la condition de la femme mariée à l'époque hellénistique*, Paris 1970.

28 Bruns and Wolters (*supra* n. 4), 108.

29 Schachter (*supra* n. 7), 100 with n. 2.

30 *IG V (I)*, 1390. Cf. P.K. Georgountzos, “Τὰ μυστήρια τῆς Ἀνδανίας”, *Platon* 31 (1979) 3-43 (text of inscription on pp. 12-24).

31 The links between the Boeotian cult and that of Andania should be closer according to Paus. 4.1,7, something which would enforce the parallel made here between iconographie and epigraphic testimonies (the purpose of the present paper). On this question, see in general Hemberg (*supra* n. 11); Kern (*supra* n. 14); Schachter (*supra* n. 7), esp. 105ff. Cf. also i. Loucas, Ρέα-Κυβέλη και οι γονιμικές λατρείες της Φλύας, Athens 1988, 67ff.

32 *IG* 8, 2420; Bruns and Wolters (*supra* n. 4), 27, 4. See Hemberg (*supra* n. 11), 203; Schachter (*supra* n. 7), 83.

33 M. P. Nilsson, “Die Prozessionstypen im griechischen Kult”, *jdt* 31 (1916) 309-339, esp. 311.

34 Though they have been represented on other vases, see for example G. van Hoorn, “Kabiros”, *BABesch* 10: 2 (1935) 1-4. Cf. Hemberg (*supra* n. 11), 198-199.

- 35** Paus. 9.25,5.
- 36** Georgountzos (*supra* n. 30), 12-13, lines 13-15.
- 37** Collignon and Couve (*supra* n. 2), 353.
- 38** *PhitWoch* 47 (24 Nov. 1888), col. 1483; Braun and Haevernick (*supra* n. 6), 62.
- 39** On this curious couple, *cf.* Bruns and Wolters (*supra* n. 4), 108, n. 3: Herakles auletophoros?
- 40** Georgountzos (*supra* n. 30), 14-15, lines 24-25.
- 41** From Delos, at the National Museum of Athens, inv. no. 3335.
- 42** Georgountzos (*supra* n. 30), 16-17, lines 42-45.

Boeotian Festival Scenes: Competition, Consumption and Cult in Archaic Black Figure

Charlotte Scheffer

1 For some time, I have been interested in Boeotian pottery and I have begun to question more and more the justification of the many disparaging remarks made about the slow wit, lack of technical proficiency and generally imitative disposition of the Boeotian painters. The quality of Boeotian pottery is, in general, rather second rate and it is quite obvious that the Boeotian painters were strongly influenced by Corinth and Athens. But did they imitate the motifs?

2 In order to test the originality of the Boeotian painter, I decided to compare a Boeotian motif with its counterparts in Corinth and Athens. The motif I chose was the festival scene in Archaic black figure. Although few in number, these scenes seemed of a sufficient complexity to make comparison valuable.

1

3 My investigation was in two parts. First, I compared the actual cult scenes, *i.e.*, the religious core of the festival (Table 1). Secondly, I looked at the context, *i.e.*, what other stages of a festival were associated with the cult scene or with each other (Table 2).

4 Considering the cult scenes, *i.e.*, the sacrificial procession, because the actual sacrifice is never shown in these scenes, there are three Boeotian vases that qualify. One is a skyphos of the Boeotian Silhouette Group in Laon (B 4).

It is unpublished and apparently damaged. The only thing known about the cult scene is that there is a procession of men leading a bull to sacrifice. I chose to exclude this vase in the first part of the investigation.

Table 1. Significant features of the sacrificial procession

No.	Temple	Altar	Fire	Recipient	Victim	Kanephoros	Music	Others
B 1		•	•		P		Flute	
B 2	•	•	•	Athena	B	F	Flute	
C 1					G	F	Flute	All F L child
C 2					B		Flute Lyre	All F L M
C 3					H	F	Flute	All F L M
C 4					S	F	Flute	All F
A 1		•	•	Athena	BPS	M	Flute Chitara	Prss
A 2		•		Athena	B		Flute Chitara	Prss All M
A 3	•	•	•	Athena	B	F	Flute	All M
A 4	•	•	•	Athena	B	F		All M
A 5	•	•	•	Athena	B			Prss only
A 6	•	•		Owl	BS			One M
A 7		•	•		GS			Pr? All F
A 8		•	•	Male w. drink. horn	B			
A 9		•	•		B		Flute	All M?
A 10		•	•		S	M		Prss
A 11		•	•	Two females	B	F		Mixed
A 12		•		Hermes	G	M	Flute	
A 13				Hermes	H	M	Flute	One F
A 14				Herm	G	M		
A 15		•			B			One F only
A 16					B	M	Flute Chitara	
A 17					BP	M		
A 18					BP		Flute	
A 19				Dionysos in ship	H		Flute	

Abbreviations

B = bovine animal, G = goat, P = pig, S = sheep, M = male, F = female, L = person leading a sacrificial animal, Pr = priest, Prss = priestess.

Priests and priestesses are not always easy to recognize. Only cases which are reasonably certain have been noted. All participants are male, when not stated otherwise. One F means one female participant besides the possibly female kanephoros or priestess. A21 thus has two women present. One M means that only one person is present in total.

Table 1. (Continued)

No.	Temple	Altar	Fire	Recipient	Victim	Kanephoros	Music	Others
A 20				Dionysos in ship	B	F		
A 21					B	F	Trumpet	One F
A 22					B			All F
A 23					B	F		
A 24					B	F		
A 25	•			Sitting male	B			
A 26	•				S			
A 27	•?				B			One M only
A 28					B		Lyre	One F
A 29					B	F		
A 30					P	F		

6

Of the other two, the first is a tripod kothon of the Boeotian Dancers Group in Berlin (B 1) from about 570 B.C. (Fig. 1). The whole vase can be described as a festival programme and we shall have reason to return to it later. It is sufficient for now to describe the cult scene itself. On the right-hand side of the scene there is an altar complete with a burning fire. Towards it moves a procession of four men preceded by an enormous pig. One of the men is playing the double flute.

7

The second cult scene is found on a lekane of the Boeotian Silhouette Group in the British Museum (B 2) from around 550 B.C. (Figs. 7-8). On the right-hand side of the cult scene there is a temple denoted by a Doric column. In front of it is a snake on a stand and a statue of a goddess resembling an Athena Promachos, armed with shield and spear. In front of her is the altar with the fire burning. On top of the altar is perched a large bird, obviously not an owl or an eagle. It has been suggested that it is a raven and that the sanctuary is that of Athena Itonea near Koroneia.

2

Walking towards the altar is a solemn procession of men preceded by a female kanephoros. The sacrificial victim is a bull. One man plays the double flute. Some of the participants are in a mule cart.

8

The two scenes are similar in spirit and execution. The British Museum lekane is more elaborate, in spite of its artist being inferior to the painter of the kothon. The Boeotian vase painter helps us to become involved in the different stages of the festival: the arrival, probably from afar, in the mule cart, the solemn procession to the

temple, in front of which stands the impressive statue of the goddess with her two familiars, the snake and the bird. From the presence of the victim and the kanephoros we can surmise what is to come: the sacrifice. The two scenes show a lively interest both in details and in the actual functioning of the religious ceremony.

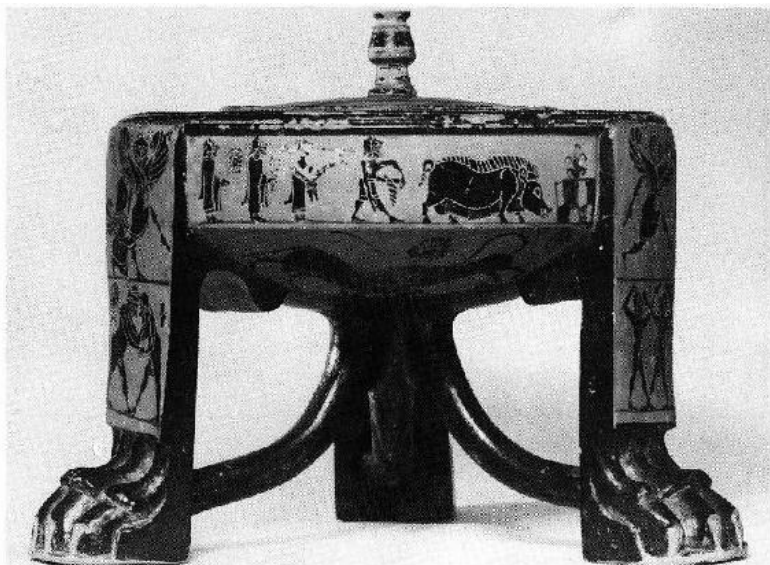


Fig. 1. Sacrificial procession. Tripod kothon of the Boeotian Dancers Group, Berlin F1727 (B 1). Courtesy, Antikenmuseum Berlin, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz. Photograph I. Luckert.

9

In the comparative material I decided to look for seven components: the temple, represented most often by a column,

3

the altar, the fire burning on top of the altar, the god (or goddess) in person or represented by a statue, the victim, the kanephoros and the musical accompaniment.

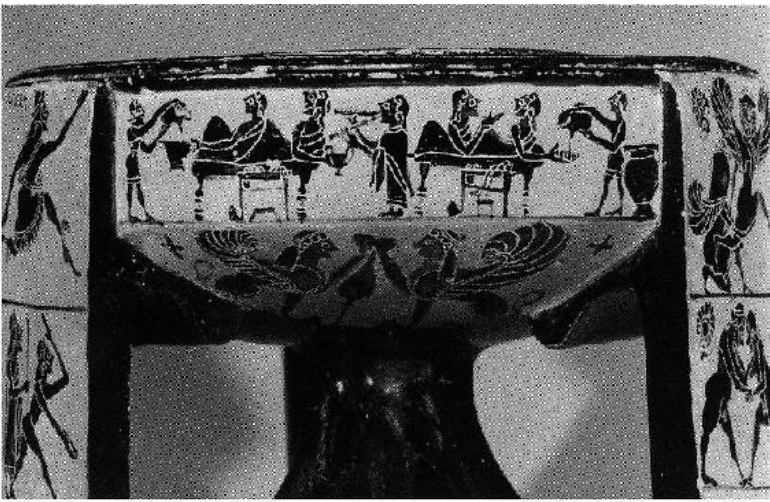


Fig. 2. Banquet. Same as Fig. 1. Photograph J. Tietz-Glasgow.



Fig. 3. Reverly. Same as Fig. 1. Photograph I. Luckert.

10

Let us consider the Corinthian vases first. In the Boeotian cult scenes all the participants are male, except for the female kanephoros, but on the Corinthian almost all the participants are female.

4

The only men allowed are the attendants of the bulls. Smaller animals are led by a child or carried by a woman. Obviously men were only tolerated when their greater strength was needed to cope with the bulls.

5

There are no fixed structures such as temples and altars, but neither is there a god present to welcome the procession. In one instance seated women spinning or minding small children have been considered goddesses (C 4); in another a small feminine figure standing on a stool has been given the same interpretation (C 1). In the first instance, the seated women probably help to underline the feminine character of the cult; in the second, one may think of some coming of age rite. In short, there is no indication of the goal of the processions. Apparently the activities of the participants are considered more important than the reason behind them.

If we now turn to Athenian vase painting, the picture is different. Let us start with the five scenes portraying sacrifices to Athena (A 1-5). All five are rich in details. One (A3) has all the looked for components; two have all but one; and none has less than four. Normally Athena stands or sits on the right-hand side as on the Boeotian lekane and looks towards the procession coming up from the left-hand side. The sacrificial victim is a bull (or cow). The music is performed on the double flute. The only exception is A1, where the procession walks from right to left, the victims are three (a bull, a ram and a boar) and the music is both double flute and chitara. Although differently distributed, the ingredients are the same.

All five scenes with Athena are rather similar to the British Museum lekane, but none can be said to be an obvious source of inspiration. None shows details such as the mule cart, the bird and the snake on a stand. In Athenian vase painting carts are not used for transporting participants of festivals.

They were used, of course, but the Athenians probably found this a prosaic detail of no interest. In none of these five scenes is a bird present. In A 5 there is a snake wriggling behind Athena's shield, but this tame snake is far from the snake "put on display" on the lekane. Although the cult practices seem to be very similar, such details must mean that the Boeotians did not slavishly copy other people's motifs but composed their own from their own experiences. There is also the question of precedence. The Boeotian tripod kothon is the oldest

of all the cult scenes, barring some of the Corinthian. The oldest cult scenes with Athena are contemporary with the lekane in the British Museum.



Fig. 4. Boxing. Same as Fig. 1. Photograph J. Tietz-Glasgow



Fig. 5. Wrestling. Same as Fig. 1. Photograph J. Tietz-Glasgow

14

Other scenes with similar subjects in Athenian black figure (A 6-29) are generally simpler but seem on the whole to have more in common with the Boeotian vases than with the Corinthian.

7

The participants are predominantly male, although kanephoroi are more often female. Music is made by males, except in one case (A 13), where a female flutist appears on the less important side. There are some probable priestesses, *i.e.*, women who are the only female present and standing in close proximity to the altar, generally in the

opposite direction from that of the procession (A 1-2, A 5 and A 10). The god is less important, when not Athena; there are three cases of herms (A 12-14), one case of two sitting female figures (A 11, Demeter and Kore?) and one of a single sitting male (A 25). Dionysos in his ship cart hints at the goal of the procession, a Dionysian sanctuary (A 19-20). Temples and altars are dispensable. The preferred victim is a bovine. In short, the paintings are abbreviated versions of ceremonies, which are close in conception to the Boeotian ones. The later ones come down to the bare necessities: a victim and a worshipper (ex. A 15). It should be remembered here that most of these vases are considerably later than the Boeotian ones, which means that one must take into consideration a change of taste from detailed, plurifigural scenes to simple scenes with few figures.

15

It is without question that the Athenian and Boeotian scenes are very similar, in details as in general conception, but this may be the result of similar cult practices rather than artistic imitation. The Corinthian scenes are different, probably because they have preferred to represent a different cult.

8

16

For the second part of my investigation, I decided to divide the festival into five stages (Table 2): procession, sacrifice, banquet, revelry and games, although they were, of course, not necessarily taking place in that order. By procession I mean a train of people moving purposefully together or dancing forwards in a controlled fashion. The actual sacrifice is not shown on any of the vases cited here, but I think it is safe to deduce it from the presence of sacrificial victims in the procession, the participation of kanephoroi and the waiting altar with the fire. Wreaths, garlands or twigs and such minor gifts have not been taken into account. The revelry is orgiastic, abandoned dancing, most often in the nude. The exception is of course the famous padded dancers of Corinth. Banquets and games are fairly easily identifiable. All vases with at least two of the components have been included, although we cannot be sure that the scenes were always meant to be seen as associated.

No.	Procession	Sacrifice	Banquet	Revelry	Games
B 1	•	•	•	•	BWD
B 2	•	•		•	
B 3	•		•	•	B
B 4	•	•		•	BW
B 5				•	BW
B 6				•	B
B 7				•	H
B 8		•	•		B
C 1	•	•	•		
C 2	•	•			
C 3	•	•			
C 4	•	•			
C 5	•		•		H
C 6	•				H
C 7	•			•	W
C 8	•			•	
C 9			•	•	
C 10			•	•	
C 11			•	•	
C 12			•	•	
A 1-7	•	•			
A 8	•	•	•		
A 9-30	•	•			
A 31				•	H
A 32			•	•	

Abbreviations

B = boxing, W = wrestling, D = discus throwing, H = horse riding, F = footrace, J = jumping, Ja = javelin throwing.

Comments

All horse riding is not necessarily racing but may be part of the young men's training. On B 8 and A 33 neither the sacrifice (i.e., the sacrificial animal) nor the banquet is shown explicitly but is implied by the transportation or preparation of food and drink. On A33 the event of the games is not certain as the scene is fragmentary. The games are, however, securely identified by the prizes, judges and nude participants. On A 32 a satyr is leading a bull as if to sacrifice.

Table 2. (Continued)

No.	Procession	Sacrifice	Banquet	Revelry	Games
A 33	Satyrs	Satyrs	•	•	H
A 34		•	•	Satyrs	•
A 35-42			•	•	
A 43			•		BWII
A 44			•		B
A 45			•		BF
A 46			•		BF
A 47			•		BjFJa
A 48			•		H
A 49			•		H
A 50			•		H
A 51			•		IIBWJJa
A 52-56			•	•	

17

The Boeotian vases which qualify amount to eight, of which the foremost is the kothon in Berlin (B 1). Besides the sacrificial procession with the large pig described above, banquet, revelry and games are represented (Figs. 2-6). The banquet scene shows two couches with two persons, two young men serving wine, a flutist and a large mixing vessel. The revelry scene shows five nude men abandoning themselves to reckless dancing led by a similarly nude flutist. The sports depicted on the three feet of the vase are boxing, wrestling and discus throwing.

18

B 2 is the lekane in the British Museum (Fig. 8). Besides the cult scene described above there is a revelry scene with six nude men dancing around an overgrown goat. Some of the men are carrying wreaths. There is no wine in sight. Such men are, however, standard figures in the Boeotian Silhouette Group and always associated with the drinking of wine. Therefore it is probably fairly safe to assume a similar occupation here.

19

B 3 is a skyphos of the Boeotian Silhouette Group in Berlin (Figs. 9-10). A procession of solemn-looking men with wreaths in their hands are converging upon a woman. The woman also holds a wreath. She has no other attributes, but judging from the dearth of women on all vases of the Boeotian Silhouette Group, this must be an important person, most likely a priestess, maybe standing in for her mistress. In the upper register there is a banquet in progress. We see three couches with banqueters who are obviously slightly tipsy. A row of so far reasonably sober men preceded by a flutist move towards the

couches. On the other side the revelry has started. The krater is in the centre and men dance around it holding wreaths and various vessels. In the register below, there are two boxers fighting over a tripod. B 4 is the skyphos in Laon mentioned above. It has boxers and wrestlers as well as revellers in its decoration, besides the sacrificial procession.



Fig. 6. Discus throwing. Same as Fig. 1. Photograph J. Tietz-Glasgow.



Fig. 7. Sacrificial procession. Lekane of the Boeotian Silhouette Groupe, London B 80 (B 2). Courtesy, the British Museum.

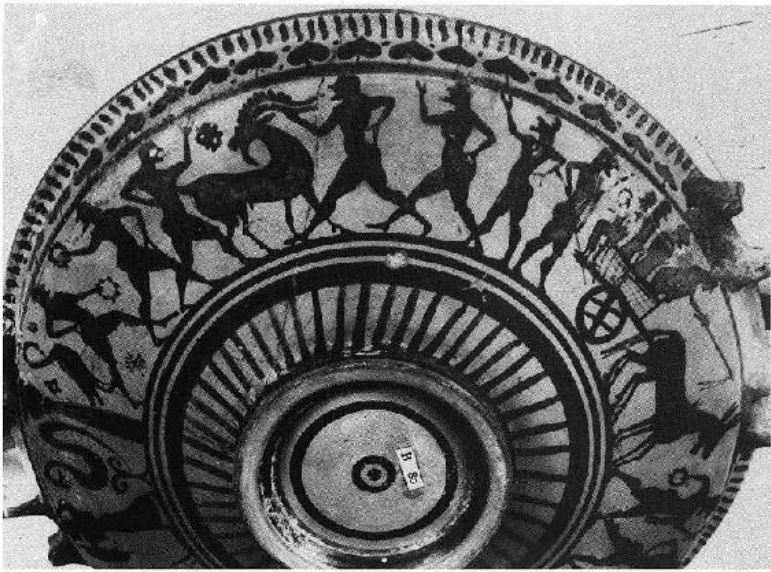


Fig. 8. Revelry (and end of sacrificial procession). Same as Fig. 7.

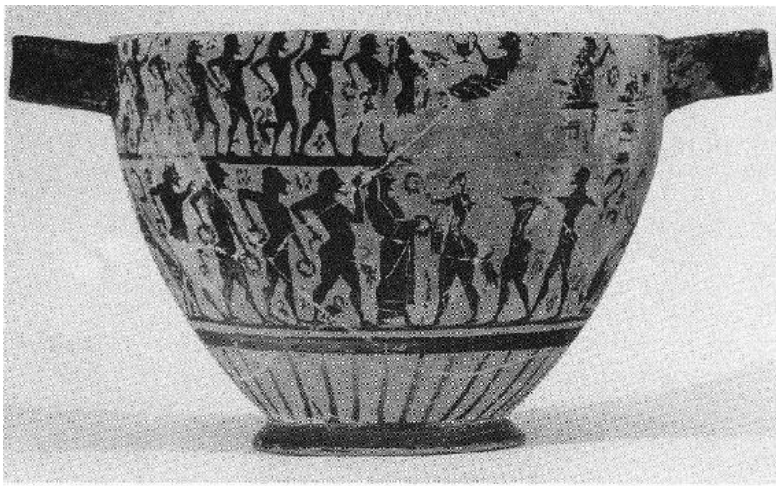


Fig. 9. Banquet and procession. Skyphos of the Boeotian Silhouette Group, Berlin F 3320 (B 3). Courtesy, Antikenmuseum Berlin, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz. Photograph I. Luckert.



Fig. 10. Revelry and boxing. Same as Fig. 9.

20

Three other vases show a combination of revelry and athletics. Two belong to the Boeotian Dancers Group (B 5-6) and have boxers and wrestlers and boxers (Fig. 11), respectively. The third vase, a pyxis of the Boeotian Silhouette Group (B 7) shows a horseman beside a tripod.

21

B 8 is an amphora of the late 6th century in Paris. This a unique piece and doubts have been raised about its Boeotian origins. It seems, however, to suit the Boeotian tradition rather well. On the shoulder are athletes: a pair of boxers. The interpretation of the main scene is problematic. There is a mule cart carrying what I think may be wine amphorae or barrels seen from the side.

9

Other men carry loads of meat: a piece identifiable as a leg and what looks like a steak encased in a net.

10

I think it is possible to interpret the meat as having come from a sacrifice and the wine transport as preparations for the banquet.

22

On the three vases B 2-4 the different motifs are obviously meant as parts of the same story. They are found more or less mixed together. B 1 with its elaborate programme must also be meant to be seen as a whole. All the participants are men, with the exception of the priestess and the kanephoros. The most popular games are boxing

and wrestling but this is probably because of the space. Horse racing and chariot races are both motifs found in the Boeotian Silhouette Group.

11

23

In the Corinthian comparative material the processions and sacrifices are in the hands of women (C 1-7). The only men allowed are the attendants of the bulls. Usually men and women do not take part in the same proceedings. An example of a men's "procession" may be only a fairly sober walk to the banquet (C 8); the women are walking in the opposite direction. Banqueting, revelling and games are naturally almost wholly a male occupation. In a few cases women are present at the revelry, but these women are hardly respectable citizen women celebrating in honour of their god but hetairai, who are part of the men's consumption.

12



Fig. 11. Boxing and revelry. Tripod kothon of the Boeotian Dancers Group, Dallas Museum of Art 1981.170 (B 6). From *Ancient art in the Norbert Schimmel collection*, Mainz 1974, no. 53.

What we see here is a very segregated world. It is quite possible that the solemn dancing of women holding hands and the wild abandoned antics of the padded men are two aspects of the same cult, as they are sometimes found on the same vases (C 8).

We are perhaps told more of the Corinthian way of looking at the relations between the sexes than of the actual cult. Games do not seem to be an important ingredient of it. On an amphora in Philadelphia (C 5) the banquet, the prerogative of the male, is shown in the uppermost zone, the dancing of the women in the middle one and a horse race in the lowermost one. Maybe this is a picture of Corinthian society rather than the depiction of a festival showing us the master of the *oikos* at his banquet (with his lady sitting beside him spinning), the women dancing in honour of a god (or goddess) and the young men busy with their athletic training. On C 6 tripods show that the young horsemen are taking part in a race. Above them women are dancing accompanied by a flute player and a *kanephoros*.

25

In Athenian vase painting, I have come upon only one sacrificial scene combined with a banquet (A 2). The thematic and chronological counterparts of most of the Boeotian vases should be the Tyrrhenian amphorae, but, although they have scenes with revellers (29 ex. in ABV), horse race (4 ex.), athletes (3 ex.), they never combine these motifs with anything which looks like a cult scene.

The motifs are not even associated, except on one amphora (A 31), on which both a horse race and revellers can be seen, and another (A 32) with both a banquet and revelry. We cannot know, however, if these two motifs are supposed to be seen together.

26

A rather interesting vase is a *dinos* in Paris (A 33), where the motifs of banquet and revelling are found in a narrow field just below the rim and a horse race further down. We start with a scene of revelry taking place around a large *krater* standing on the ground. The participants are human. This motif fades into another where satyrs accompany *Hephaistos*. One of the satyrs leads a bull as if in a mock sacrificial procession. The return of *Hephaistos* merges into a satyric revelry around an oversize goat and suddenly we are in the banqueting hall with only humans in sight. This lack of distinction between different motifs and between human and divine creatures is far from the Boeotian's sober way of looking at reality.

27

A similar message is transmitted by a second, very fragmentary vase, a krater found on the Acropolis in Athens (A 34). Dionysos is somehow present in a scene which includes satyrs and maenads, dancing and fetching wine from a large mixing bowl; human males are boiling food in a large cauldron and preparing spits; tripods and dinoi represent prizes and some naked human males accompanied by a flute player may be participants in the games; two fully dressed males, one with a staff, may be the judges.

28

Some vases (A 35-42) show banquets with revelry starting or going on between the couches, on which people are still drinking. Generally, the two motifs are totally interlocked and not seen as two distinct moments as on the Boeotian vases.

15

29

Most of the Athenian vases of interest to us belong to a group of stamnoi from the late 6th century (A43-56).

16

All show banquets on the shoulders and revellers or games on the belly. All activities, except of course the sports, seem to be open to both sexes. Again, however, to judge from their scant clothing, the female participants are hetairai.

30

In Athenian vase painting there are hardly any scenes showing the actual sacrifice, but the preparations afterwards for the banquet seem to have been considered a more suitable subject for the vase painter.

17

It appears that such scenes have been considered unsuitable to mix with scenes of banquets, revelling or sports,

18

although we know from the Panathenaic amphorae that sports go well with the service of a god. Symposia, on the other hand, go well with hoplite fighting or young men hunting. One is left with the impression that we are being shown the ideals of civic behaviour for various age groups. The Athenian society was urban and sophisticated and much concerned with the propagation of the ideals of citizenship. In the depiction of these banquets, the stress is perhaps less on the sacrificial meal than on the shared consumption as the backbone of social integration.

31

One reason why the Athenians avoided the combination of different festival scenes might have been the shape of the vases. Most Athenian vase shapes would seem to favour one large single motif, not a chain of related motifs. Such an hypothesis is, however, proved wrong by the Tyrrhenian vases. Also band cups could easily have accommodated more complex scenes.

32

Another reason for the singular disinterest among the Athenians for the several different stages of a festival may be the Athenian way of depicting not what actually happened, one stage after another, but all events together in a fused version of the whole story. Athenian pictures are very often to be read almost like pictograms.

33

The Boeotians, on the other hand, were more than interested in the totality of the happening and they were also interested in the most prosaic details. They did not hesitate to show the transportation to the probably rural sanctuary or the actual carrying around of the sacrificial meat. In fact, I also believe that two scenes of food preparation, on a lekythos of the Boeotian Silhouette Group and a skyphos in the Kanellopoulos collection in Athens, do not show “daily life” but preparations for the sacrificial banquet.

20

The motif on the lekythos seem to show bread making by women (kneading the dough, pestling and baking in the oven, to music); the skyphos shows two women at the mortar in the presence of a woman spinning. Comparative material with preparations for the sacrificial banquet, besides those already mentioned, are the well-known Ionic hydria in the Villa Giulia and, although much later, the Tomba Golini in Orvieto.

21

The first shows all the preparations for the meal and the second not only the preparations but the meal itself with Hades and Persephone as the honoured guests. If the pestle and mortar scene is part of the preparation for a sacrificial banquet, it should be considered if the scene on the other side of the skyphos, a woman washing her hair, may not be purifying before a holy ceremony.

22

The Boeotians, perhaps less used to breaks in the routine of their daily lives, seem to make the most of their festive occasions. They seem also genuinely interested in showing what is going on, stage by stage. This sense of realism is apparent in most Boeotian vase painting to varying degrees. In the next century it will pass over into a sort of super-realism expressed in the caricatures of the Kabiric vases. The Boeotians were technically inferior to their great neighbours, but they are shown to have been original, not so much in the way they painted their motifs, which probably mirror contemporary cult practices common to all Greeks, but in the stress they laid on the totality of the festival procedure.

Appendix. List of vases referred to in the text and Tables 1-2

35

B Boeotian C Corinthian A Athenian

36

B 1 Berlin, Staatl. Mus. F 1727, tripod kothon, *CVA Berlin* 4, Pls. 195-196 and 197: 5-7 (Deutschland 33, Pls. 1621-1623); K. Kilinski II, *Boeotian black-figure vase painting of the Archaic period*, Mainz am Rhein 1990, 15-17, no. 1, Pl. 7: 1-2; *ABV* 29, no. 1. Here Figs. 1-6.

37

B 2 London, Brit. Mus. B 80, lekane, *CVA British Museum* 2, III H e, Pl. 7: 4a-b (Great Britain 2, Pl. 65); Maffre (*supra* n. 11), 432, no. 1. Here Figs. 7-8.

38

B 3 Berlin, Staatl. Mus. F 3320, skyphos, Maffre (*supra* n. 11), 433, no. 13; *CVA Berlin* 4, Pl. 200:3-6 (Deutschland 33, PL 1622). Here Figs. 9-10.

39

B 4 Laon 37.995, skyphos, Maffre (*supra* n. 11), 433, no. 16; Kilinski (*supra* No. B 1), Pl. 22: 4.

40

B 5 Boston, MFA 01.8110, tripod kothon, K. Kilinski II, "The Boeotian Dancer Group", *AJA* 82 (1978) 181, no. 1, Fig. 13; *idem* (*supra* No. B 1), 17, no. 1.

41

B 6 Dallas, MusArt 1981.170, ex Norbert Schimmel coll., tripod kothon, *Ancient ar of the Norbert Schimmel collection* (ed. O. W. Muscarella), Mainz 1974, no. 53; Kilinski (*supra* No. B 1), 19, no. 4, Pl. 11: 1.

42

B 7 Athens, NM 289, tripod pyxis, Maffre (*supra* n. 11), 434, no. 35.

43

B 8 Paris, Louvre CA 3279, neck amphora, *CVA Louvre* 17, Pls. 30 and 31: 1-2 (Franc 26, Pls. 1153-1154).

44

C 1 Paris, Bibl. Nat. 94, pyxis, *CVA Bibliothèque National* 1, Pl. 17 (France 7, Pl. 301).

45

C 2 Perachora 1578, aryballos, *Perachora II* (*supra* n. 4), 50, no. 1578, Pl. 61.

46

C 3 Oslo, Univ. Mus. of Ethnography 6909, amphoriskos, *CVA Norway*, III C, Pl. 4.

47

C 4 Munich 7741, pyxis, *CVA München* 3, Figs. 6-9, Pls. 144: 5-6 and 145: 1-2 (Deutschland 9, Pls. 426-427).

48

C 5 Philadelphia MS 552, amphora, E. H. Dohan, *Italic tomb groups in the University Museum*, Philadelphia 1942, 99-100, no. 10, Fig. 68, Pl. 54; *eadem*, "Some unpublished vases in the University Museum, Philadelphia", *AJA* 38 (1934) 523-526, Figs. 1 and 3, Pl. 22.

49

C 6 Politis coll., amphora, Ch. Papadopoulou-Kanellopolou, *Συλλογή Κάρολου Πολίτη (Δημοσιεύματα του Αρχαιολογικού Δελτίου*, 40), Athena 1989, 87-90 and 93, no. 86, Figs. 86-91, Pl. 14.

50

C 7 Taranto 20703, skyphos, F. G. Lo Porto, "Ceramica arcaica dalla necropoli di Taranto", *ASAtene* 37-38 (1959-60) 156-159, Figs. 132 and 134-136.

51

C 8 Berlin, Staatl. Mus. 4856, pyxis, Jucker (*supra* n. 4), 59, Pls. 22: 2, 4-5 and 7.

52

C 9 Athens NM 951, plate, D. Callipolitis-Feytmans, "Évolution du plat

corinthien”, *BCH* 86 (1962) 150, no. 4, Pl. 5.

53

C 10 London, Brit. Mus. B 41, amphoriskos, II. Payne, *Necrocorinthia. A study of Corinthian art in the Archaic period*, Oxford 1931, 324, no. 1359, Pl. 38: 1 and 5; Seeberg (*supra* n. 12), 48, no. 240, Pl. 2.

54

C 11 London, Brit. Mus. 61.4 - 25. 45, lekanoid bowl, D. A. Amyx, “The Medaillon Painter”, *AJA* 65 (1961), Pls. 8 and 12b; Payne (*supra* No. C 9), no. 717.

55

C 12 Paris, Musée Rodin TC 503, mastos, *CVA Musée Rodin*, fasc. unique, Pl. 7: 4-6 and 9 (France 16, Pl. 695).

56

A 1 Priv. coll., band cup, *Münzen und Medaillen A.G., Basel, Schweiz. Kunstwerke der Antike. Auktion XVIII*, 29 Nov. 1958, no. 85, Pl. 22; Shapiro (*supra* n. 8), Pl. 9a-b.

57

A 2 Berlin 1686, amphora, D. von Bothmer, “A Panathenaic amphora”, *Metropolitan Museum Art Bulletin* 11-12 (1953), Fig. on pp. 54f.; Shapiro (*supra* n. 8), Pl. 9c-d; *AB* 296, no. 4.

58

A 3 Athens NM 2298, lekythos, Shapiro (*supra* n. 8), Pl. 10a.

59

A 4 London, Brit. Mus. 1905.7-11.1, Vraona oinochoe, H. B. Walters, “Vases recently acquired by the British Museum”, *JHS* 31 (1911) 8-9, Figs. 7-8; Hemelrijk (*supra* η. 1), Figs. 48-49; *ABV* 443, no. 3.

60

A 5 Lost, kalpis, Shapiro (*supra* n. 8), Pl. 10c; *ABV* 393, no. 20.

61

A 6 Uppsala, Gustavianum coll. 352, hydria, C. Melldahl & J. Flemberg, “Eine Hydria des Theseus-Malers mit einer Opferdarstellung”, in *From the Gustavianum collections in Uppsala* 2, 1978 (Boreas. Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, 9), Uppsala 1978, 57-79, Figs. 1 and 12; *ABV* 519, no. 15. Cover ill. of this volume.

62

A 7 Priv. coll., neck amphora, *Münzen und Medaillen A.G., Basel, Schweiz. Kunstwerke der Antike. Auktion XXVI*, 5 Okt. 1963, no. 103, Pl. 32; A. Malagardis, “Deux temps d’une fête athénienne sur un skyphos

attique”, *AntK* 28 (1985) 83, Pl. 22: 1-2.

63

A 8 Taranto I.G. 4346, Siana cup, H. A. G. Brijder, *Siana cups and Komast cups* (Allard Pierson Series, 4), Amsterdam 1983, 238, no. 23, Pls. 11e and 12a; *ABV* 54, no. 70.

64

A 9 Paris, Louvre F 10, hydria, *CVA Louvre* 6, III H e, Pl. 62: 1 and 4-5 (France 9, Pl. 401).

65

A 10 Munich 1441, neck amphora, H. Mommsen, *Der Affekter* (Kerameus, 1), Mainz am Rhein 1975, no. 106, Pls. 118-119; Shapiro (*supra* n. 8), Pl. 43d-e; *ABV* 243, no. 44.

66

A 11 Athens NM 493, lekythos, *ABL* 21, no. 1, Pl. 7: 1a-b; *CVA Athènes* 1, Pl. 7: 1-3 (Grèce 1, Pl. 15).

67

A 12 Athens NM 12351, skyphos, Malagardis (*supra* No. A7), Pl. 19; Shapiro (*supra* n. 8), Pl. 60b.

68

A 13 Paestum, pelike, K. Lehnstaedt, *Prozessionsdarstellungen auf attischen Vasen*, Diss. München 1970, Pl. 3: 3; Shapiro (*supra* n. 8), Pl. 59c.

69

A 14 Priv. coll., neck amphora, Shapiro (*supra* n. 8), Pl. 58d.

70

A 15 Cracow, Univ. Coll. 110, oinochoe, *CVA Cracovie*, fasc. unique, Pl. 7: 1 (Pologne 2, Pl. 80); *ABV* 438, no. 2, top.

71

A 16 Athens NM 816 (from the Acropolis), fragmentary amphora, Graef (*supra* n. 7), Pl. 49.

72

A 17 Priv. coll., skyphos, D. von Bothmer (ed.), *Ancient art from New York private collections*, New York 1961, no. 221, Pl. 76; *ABV* 704, no. 27 ter.

73

A 18 Stuttgart KAS 74, skyphos, *CVA Stuttgart* 1, Pl. 19 (Deutschland 26, Pl. 1231).

74

A 19 London, Brit. Mus. B 79, skyphos, A. Frickenhaus, “Der

Schiffskarren des Dionysos in Athen", *Jdl* 27 (1912), Beilage 1: II A-B; ABL 250, no. 30.

75

A 20 Bologna 130, lekythos, *CVA Bologna* 2, Pl. 43 (Italia 7, Pl. 342); ABL 253, no. 15.

76

A 21 London, Brit. Mus. B 648, skyphos, Lehnstaedt (*supra* No. A13), Pl. 4:3; Frickenhaus (*supra* No. A 19), Beilage I: IV; ABL 267, no. 14.

77

A 22 Gallatin coll., lekythos, *CVA Gallatin and Hoppin collections*, Pl. 8: 1 and 3 (USA 1, Pl. 28); ABL 247.

78

A 23 Corinth 324-4 (T 814), lekythos, C. W Blegen, H. Palmer & R. S. Young, Corinth 13. *The North cemetery*, Princeton (N.J.) 1964, Pl. 95.

79

A 24 New Orleans, Coll. of Tulane Univ., lekythos, *Art, myth and culture. Greek vases from southern collections* (intr. and cat. by H.A. Shapiro), New Orleans 1981, 106-107, no. 41.

80

A 25 Paris, Louvre CA 1837, lekythos, ABL 252, no. 60, Pl. 43: 2a-b.

81

A 26 Athens NM 18568, lekythos, Hemelrijk (*supra* η. 1), Figs. 50-51; *Para* 216.

82

A 27 Copenhagen ABc 26, lekythos, *CVA Copenhagen* 8, Pl. 328: 5 (Danemark 8, Pl. 331).

83

A 28 London, Brit. Mus. B 585, lekythos, Lehnstaedt (*supra* No. A13), Pl. 4:2; ABV 496, no. 175.

84

A 29 Athens NM 598, lekythos, H. Heydemann, *Griechische Vasenbilder*, Berlin 1870, Pl. 11: 2; ABL 269, no. 63.

85

A 30 Berlin, Staatl. Mus. F 1690, amphora, S. Karouzou, *The Amasis Painter*, Oxford 1956, Pl. 9; ABV 151, no. 11.

86

A 31 Rome, Villa Giulia 74961, Tyrrhenian amphora, *Civiltà degli etruschi* (ed. M. Cristofani), Milano 1985, 203, no. 3, Fig. on p. 204.

87

A 32 Stanford 61.66, Tyrrhenian amphora, T. B. L. Webster, "Greek vases in the Stanford Museum", *AJA* 69 (1965) 64, Pl. 17: 1.

88

A 33 Paris, Louvre F 876, dinos, *CVA Louvre* 2, Pls. 21-23 (France 2, Pls. 70-72); *ABV* 90, no. 1.

89

A 34 Athens NM 654 (from the Acropolis), volute krater?, Graef (*supra* n. 7), Pls. 41-42.

90

A 35 Heligoland, Kropatschek coll., Siana cup, W Hornbostel *et al.*, *Kunst der Antike. Schätze aus norddeutschem Privatbesitz*, Mainz am Rhein 1977, no. 239A; *Sympotica* (*supra* n. 10), Pl. 14b and 17a.

91

A 36 Taranto MN 110339, Siana cup, F. G. Lo Porto, "Vasi attici a figure nere da una tomba tarantina", *BdA* 44 (1959) 14-15, no. 8, Figs. 10-12.

92

A 37 Taranto I.G. 4339, Siana cup, Brijder (*supra* No. A8), 240-241, no. 53, Pl. 16c; *ABV* 52, no. 28.

93

A 38 Bari 2959, Siana cup, Brijder (*supra* No. A8), 253, no. 176, Pl. 35a-b; *ABV* 53, no. 38 and 59, no. 8.

94

A 39 Syracuse 49271, Siana cup, Brijder (*supra* No. A8), 246, no. 117, Pl. 23d; *ABV* 53, no. 30.

95

A 40 Frankfurt, Hist. Mus., band cup, H. Schaal, *Griechische Vasen aus Frankfurter Sammlungen*, Frankfurt am Main 1923, Pl. 18b.

96

A 41 Rome, Vatican 326, band cup, C. Albizzati, *Vasi antichi dipinti del Vaticano* (Monumenti vaticani di archeologia e d'arte, 2), Roma, Vaticano 1922-42, 115-116, Pl. 38.

97

A 42 Athens NM 359, Droop cup, *CVA Athènes* (Musée National) 3, Pls. 40-41 (Grèce 3, Pls. 138-139).

98

A 43 Paris, Louvre F 314, stamnos, B. Philippaki, *The Attic stamnos*, Oxford 1967, Pl. 7: 1; *CVA Louvre* 2, III H e, Pl. 6 (France 2, Pl. 78); *ABV* 388, no. 1.

99

A 44 Rome, Villa Giulia, stamnos, Philippaki, Pl. 11:3-4.

100

A 45 Paris, Cab. Méd. 252, stamnos, Philippaki, Pl. 14: 1; ABV 344, no. 1.

101

A 46 Oxford, Ashmolean Mus. 1965.97, stamnos, Philippaki (*supra* No. A41), Pls. 11: 1-2; ABV 343, no. 6.

102

A 47 Würzburg 328, stamnos, E. Langlotz, *Griechische Vasen in Würzburg*, München 1932, Pl. 100; ABV 343, no. 2.

103

A 48 Brussels 251, stamnos, Philippaki, Pl. 9; ABV 388, no. 2.

104

A 49 Maplewood, ex. New York, Noble coll., stamnos, Philippaki, Pls. 9: 4 and 13: 1; ABV 696, no. 2bis.

105

A 50 Würzburg 327, stamnos, Langlotz (*supra* No. A 47), Pl. 99; ABV 343, no. 5.

106

A 51 Rome, Vatican 414, stamnos, Albizzati (*supra* No. A40), 184, Fig. 124, Pl. 62; ABV 343, no. 3.

107

A 52 Orvieto, Faina coll. 58, stamnos, Philippaki, Pl. 10:1; ABV 344, no. 2.

108

A 53 Oxford 1919.46, stamnos, Philippaki, Pl. 10: 2; ABV 344, no. 3.

109

A 54 Stockholm NM 1757, stamnos, to be published in *CVA Stockholm 2*.

110

A 55 Los Angeles A 5933.50.8, stamnos, Philippaki, Pl. 8; ABV 343, no. 1.

111

A 56 Tarquinia, stamnos, G. Cultrera, "Tarquinia. Scoperte nella necropoli", 162, *NSc* 1930, Pl. 7: 3-4; ABV 345, no. 5.

Notes

1 The Boeotian vases as well as the comparative material will be found in a list at the end. A before a number denotes Athenian, B Boeotian and C Corinthian. Only scenes with sacrificial animals have been included. Certain scenes in Athenian vase painting show animals standing by an altar or a louterion, singly, in pairs or more, J.-P. Durand, *Sacrifice et labour en Grèce ancienne. Essai d'anthropologie religieuse* (Images à l'appui, 1), Paris & Rome 1986, 91-103; G. Bakalakis, "Das Zeusfest der Dipolieia auf einer oinochoe in Saloniki", *AntK* 12 (1969) 56-60, Pls. 31-32; J. Hemelrijk, "The Gela Painter in the Allard Pierson Museum", *BABesch* 49 (1974), esp. 140-150. These vases have also been omitted. Further excluded are two scenes with sacrificial animals which do not show a procession but a moment close to the actual sacrifice, Durand, 105-107, Figs. 24-25 (an alabastron in Berlin VI.3419 and a Caeretan hydria in Copenhagen NM 13.567). Durand calls attention to the flexed legs of the figure carrying the axe and the position of the axe on the hydria as well as the bowed heads of the animals. Sacrificial animals in processions hold their heads high, as do all walking animals. The Caeretan hydria, otherwise, shows all the traits common to a sacrificial procession: altar, fire, kanephoros, flute player. Fragments and very fragmentary vases, and vases of which no useful illustrations are available have been excluded.

2 For a survey of the motifs in the group, see Ch. Scheffer, "Why Boeotian? Reflections of the Boeotian Silhouette Group", in *From the Gustavianum Collections* 3 (Boreas. Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis) [in press].

3 A column does not necessarily denote a temple. In late Athenian vase painting it can be the border of the scene, for instance, on A 26. No difference has been made between bulls and cows; all are termed B for bovine animal. It is almost impossible to differentiate between the sexes in vase painting and it is quite obvious that in many cases identification has depended on preconceived ideas of the festival depicted. Only occasionally, as on A 9, can we be certain that a cow has been depicted. Anyone carrying an item like a tray or a kanoun has been called kanephoros, as their function as carriers of sacrificial implements is the same, regardless of vessel.

4 I. Jucker, "Frauenfest in Korinth", *AntK* 6 (1963) 47-61. Most of the vases show only women dancing or walking forwards holding each other by the hand, but some of the scenes also have kanephoroi, Jucker, Pls. 17 and 20: 1-2; *Perachora* II. *The sanctuaries of Hera Akraia and Limenia* (ed. T.J. Dunbabin), Oxford 1962, 194, no. 1951, Pl. 77. One fragment shows a female kanephoros accompanied by two males, a most unusual combination, T. L. Shear, "Excavations in the theatre district of Corinth in 1926", *AJA* 30 (1926) 448, Fig. 3.

5 To the male bull attendants, add *Perachora* II (*supra* n. 4), 212-213, no. 2066, Pl. 77, and G. Welter, *Aigina*, Berlin 1938, Fig. 35.

6 For the farmer's cart, which was probably pressed into service on the holidays, see H. L. Lorimer, "The country cart of ancient Greece", *JHS* 23 (1903) 132-151.

7 The following fragments give some additional information: B. Graef, *Die antiken Vasen von der Akropolis zu Athen I*: 1-4, Berlin 1909-1925, no. 607, Pl. 33, no. 674, Pl. 43, no. 842, Pl. 52, Fig. on p. 102, no. 1582, Pl. 82, no. 2009, Pl. 89, and no. 2290, Pl. 96. C. Roebuck, "Pottery from the North slope of the Acropolis 1937-1938", *Hesperia* 9 (1940) 182-183, no. 80, Fig. 22, and 184-185, nos. 119 and 120, Fig. 28. C. Watzinger, *Griechische Vasen in Tübingen* (Tübinger Forschungen zur Archäologie und Kunstgeschichte, 2), Reutlingen 1924, nos. D 23-24, Pl. 10. From the fragments we learn of a second bull/sheep/pig sacrifice; as on the complete vases bovines are the most popular sacrificial victim, but there are cases of sheep, pigs and one goat as well. Musicians are male, but there are two female kanephoroi. Other participants are exclusively male. In two cases objects which have been interpreted as knives are being carried in the procession (Graef, no. 607 and Roebuck, no. 80).

8 There are indications of a similar, predominantly female cult also in Athenian vase painting, see, for instance, L. Kahil, "Le "cratérique" d'Artémis et le Brauronion de l'acropole", *Hesperia* 50 (1981) 253-263; *eadem*, "Autour de l'Artémis attique", *AntK* 8 (1965) 20-33. See also the fragment with a seated goddess (Demeter?) in H. A. Shapiro, *Art and cult under the tyrants in Athens*, Mainz am Rhein 1989, Pl. 38d-e. The theme of dancing girls can be traced far back into the Geometric period and would certainly bear investigation.

9 Transport amphorae for wine are rarely depicted in Athenian vase painting. The only ones known to me are two examples of carts with amphorae standing up: P Wolters & G. Bruns, *Das Kabirenheiligtum bei Theben*, Berlin 1940, Pl. 11, and Durand (*supra* n. 1), Fig. 89c.

10 Cf. for the leg, the cutting-up scene on the Corinthian Eurytos crater Louvre E 635, *Sympotica. A symposium on the symposion* (ed. O. Murray), Oxford 1990, Pl. 1a; a pelike in Naples 3358, Shapiro (*supra* n. 8), Pl. 38f; a hydria in Boston 99257 and a cup in the Louvre C 10918, J. P. Durand, "Bêtes grecques. Proposition pour une typologie des corps à manger", in M. Detienne & J. P. Vernant, *La cuisine du sacrifice en pays grec*, Paris 1979, Figs. 8 and 19; a krater in London Brit. Mus. B 267, *idem* (*supra* n. 1), Fig. 38.

11 See J.-J. Maffre, "Collection Paul Canellopoulos (VIII): vases béotiens", *BCH* 99 (1975) 434, nos. 35-36. No. 35 is our B 7. No. 36 is a pyxis in a private collection in Athens showing two bigae in course.

12 On C 8 the female participants are clothed but are otherwise taking part wholeheartedly in the goings-on. For the presence of females in the revelry, see A. Seeberg, *Corinthian komos vases* (BICS, Suppl. no. 27), London 1971, 46-48 and 106, nos. 231-240. The inclusion of females and especially nude ones is considered an Atticizing trait.

13 Jucker (*supra* n. 4), 59 with n. 91, and Pl. 22:6.

14 On one amphora in the Louvre, CVA Louvre 1, Pl. 4:1 and 9 (France 1, Pl. 34), there is a one-person banquet on one side; on the other a solemn file of men moves toward a tripod. This vase has not been included, as the connection with games is

very tenuous or non-existent and the procession, in any case, is not sacrificial. At least one Tyrrhenian painter was interested in sports, as testified by an amphora in Geneva, MF 156 (CVA *Genève* 2, III H, PL 43 (Suisse 3, PL 99): tripods, judges, footrace, jumping, boxing, wrestling, javelin throwing, and possibly discus throwing; in a register above are young men horse riding, whether competitive or not is hard to say.

15 The mixing of the two motifs is apparently found fairly often in the last third of the sixth century and I have not found it necessary to include all possible examples, as the subject is already well treated by B. Fehr, *Orientalische und griechische Gelage* (Abhandlungen zur Kunst-, Musik- und Literaturwissenschaft, 94), Bonn 1971; J.-M. Dentzer, *Le motif du banquet couché dans le Proche-Orient et le monde grec du vii^e au i^{er} siècle avant J.-C.* (Bibliothèque des Écoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, 246), Rome 1982, 108f., table 4.

16 These stamnoi, most of which belong to the so-called Perizoma Group, seem very closely related. Mature men, conspicuously lacking in athletic suppleness, take part in sports, always dressed in white loin-cloths. In the banquets and revelry scenes they wear a sort of kerchief wound around the head in the manner of a turban. It seems near at hand to surmise that these old boy vases were commissioned for some special cultic event (or an Etruscan market, see M. McDonnell, "The introduction of athletic nudity: Thucydides, Plato and the vases", *JHS* 111 (1991) 186-189, with n. 25). Only illustrated vases have been included.

17 Durand (*supra* n. 10), 133-165; *idem* (*supra* n. 1), 89-143; G. Berthiaume, *Les rôles du mageiros. Étude sur la boucherie, la cuisine et le sacrifice dans la Grèce ancienne* (Mnemosyne, Suppl. 70), Leiden 1982, 44-53.

18 A31 seems to be the closest we come to such a combination: Dionysiac revelry associated with humans preparing food and taking part in games. For a list of banquet scenes and their "backsides", see P. Schmitt-Pantel, "Sacrificial meal and symposion: Two models of civic institutions in the Archaic city?", in *Sympotica* (*supra* n. 10), 27-30.

19 For a discussion of the role of the banquet, see lately Schmitt-Pantel (*supra* n. 18), 14-26.

20 Athens, Kanellopoulos collection 384, Maffre (*supra* n. 11), 467, no. 16, Fig. 29, and Athens, Serpieri collection, Maffre, 435, no. 42, B. A. Sparkes, "The Greek kitchen", *JHS* 82 (1962) 122 and 126, PL 7: 2. Several mortar and pestles scenes are known: Pausanias V18.2 (the Kypselos chest); Leningrad 2265, E. Bohr, *Der Schaukelmaler* (Kerameus, 4), Mainz am Rhein 1982, 51 and 96, no. 113, PL 116; Boston 13 205, A. Fairbanks, "An Ionian deinos in Boston", *AJA* 23 (1919) 281 and 283, Fig. 1; Eleusis 1055, W. von Massow, "Die Kypseloslade", *AM* 41 (1916) 58, Fig. 13. The scene on the Ionian dinos shows a man and a woman at the mortar, accompanied by flute music; other persons bring wine in pitchers and more solid foodstuff in vessels and a string bag; a large dinos on a stand and a youth jumping for joy contribute to the festive atmosphere. It is easy to believe that scenes of this

kind represent some cultic ceremony, as suggested by Bohr (above), 51, and Shapiro (*supra* n. 8), 82. It is interesting that two of these scenes are Boeotian, especially as there also exist Boeotian terracotta figurines with the same motif, S. Mollard-Besques, *Musée du Louvre. Catalogue raisonné des figurines et reliefs en terre-cuite grecs, étrusques et romains I. Époques préhellénique, géométrique, archaïque et classique*, Paris 1954, nos. B 120-121.

21 G. Barbieri, "La tomba Golini I e la cista di Bruxelles. Due rappresentazioni di 'cucina'", in *L'alimentazione nel mondo antico. Gli etruschi*, Roma 1987, 119-122. S. Steingraber, *Catalogo ragionato della pittura etrusca*, Milano 1985, 284-285, no. 32, Pls. 3-7. For the hydria, see Berthiaume (*supra* n. 16), 44-53, Pls. 1-5; Durand (*supra* n. 16), 133-143, Pls. 1-4; *L'alimentazione*, 156-157.

22 Maffre (*supra* n. 11), 467 and 470, no. 16, Fig. 29.

Instrumental Music in Representations of Greek Cult

*

Gullög C. Nordquist

1

Music was indispensable in Greek cult: almost all kinds of musical performances, hymns and dithyrambs as well as the musical *agones*

1

and theatre performances, belonged to cult in one form or another. It is of course this art-music that has attracted the attention of ancient and modern scholars. “Functional” and popular folk music, however, was of little interest to ancient musicological writers, who looked on it rather contemptuously: in Aristophanes’ *Frogs* (1300) a serious criticism against Euripides is the “filthy” musical sources he chooses: dance melodies, love songs and work tunes. To the “functional” music belongs also some of the instrumental cult music.

2

In this paper I concentrate on the use of instruments as depicted in Archaic and Classical vase painting in the “traditional” forms of cult: the *pompe* and the scenes with animal sacrifice, excluding the orgiastic cults. The questions asked are: At what stage of the cult proceedings are musical instruments depicted? What instruments are played and when? Who are playing them? What relationship does the musician have to the ritual action? To the other participants?

The *pompe*

The instruments

Prosodia were part of the sacrificial processions. These choral songs were often sung by citizen choirs, who were during later periods sometimes replaced by professional groups.

2

The *auloi* were part of the musical ensemble for the *prosodia*:

3

hymn composers such as Clonas and Pronomos were also famous auletes.

4

Although choirs are not often depicted, musical instruments are not uncommon in representations of sacrificial processions. *Auloi* and *kithara* are the most common, while the lyre occurs sporadically. Of these, only the *auloi* appears alone. This reed-instrument, related to the oboe, was not one, but rather a whole family of instruments of varying pitch, tuning and timbre, played in pairs and often with a mouth-strap, the *phorbeia*, each pipe with its own mouthpiece.

5

4

The *auloi* are found in processional scenes on Corinthian vases, *e.g.*, in *Frauenfest* scenes. On a pyxis in Paris

6

four possible cult scenes are depicted, among them a procession leading up to a scene with the adorning of a small figure standing on a stool, perhaps a statue of a goddess: the procession is led by a little fat man, followed by a large *kanephoros*, a little man leading a large goat, and a female aulete in front of two women. On a Corinthian amphoriskos in Oslo

7

a woman is playing the *auloi* in a procession led by three *kanephoroi*, a large bull and a tall, bearded man.



Fig. 1. A procession including an aulete on a Boiotian exaleiptron. Courtesy of Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, inv. F 1727. Photo: Isolde Luckart.

A male aulete participates in a procession to Athena Promachos on the Boiotian lekane in London:

8

to the right, behind an altar on which a fire burns, stands Athena Promachos. The procession going towards the altar consists of a *kanephoros*, a man with bull, an aulete, followed by the other participants. On an exaleiptron in Berlin,

9

a male aulete takes part in a procession led by an enormous pig (Fig. 1). The procession is moving towards an altar on which a fire burns, to the right of the scene. Following the pig are a man with the *kanoun*, the aulete, and two men. On a Boiotian skyphos in Athens

10

another male aulete is found: to a large high-stepped altar topped with herms leads a procession consisting of a *kanephoros*, a large goat and two men carrying a large vessel and last the aulete.

Similar scenes are found on Attic pottery, *e.g.*, a skyphos by the Theseus painter,

11

with a male *kanephoros*, a bull with a leader, an aulete and two men carrying a large vessel on a pole. An amphora by the Affecter in Munich

12

shows a procession, perhaps to Athena, of men, including an aulete, leading a ram to a small altar behind which stand a small female figure, a priestess. A female aulete is found on a Caeretan hydria

13

in Copenhagen (Fig. 2): the altar with a fire burning on it is to the left. Towards it the procession is led by a man carrying a *labrys* who leads a bull behind which walks another man. Directly after the bull there is a female *kanephoros*, followed by a female aulete.

In the sacrificial processions string instruments are hardly ever used without accompanying *auloi*. Of the string instruments, the *kithara* is the most common, and would indeed have been most suitable for public use, since its large soundbox made it louder than the soft lyra or barbiton. The large seven-string *kithara* on, *e.g.*, the amphora by

Painter of Berlin 1686 (Fig. 3a–b),

14

is the most commonly represented.

15

The *kithara* was played with a plectrum attached by a string and was ornamented with tassels and pieces of cloth. *Alyra*

16

is found only in processions of a more private nature, such as on the Pitsa pinax.

17



Fig. 2. Caeretan hydria with a female aulete. Courtesy of the Department of Near Eastern and Classical Antiquities, the National Museum, Copenhagen, inv. MN 13,567. Photo: Lennart Larsen.



Fig. 3a. Four musicians, two auletes and two kitharists, in a sacrificial procession on a belly-amphora by the Painter of Berlin 1686 (name-vase). Courtesy of Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Pergamonmuseum, inv. F 1686. Photo: Rosa Mai.



Fig. 3b. Four musicians, two auletes and two kitharists, in a sacrificial procession on a belly-amphora by the Painter of Berlin 1686 (name-vase). Courtesy of Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Pergamonmuseum, inv. F 1686. Photo: Rosa Mai.

was an instrument for signals, with military connotations. It was sometimes sounded at the beginning of a procession and it has been suggested that it also used in sacrifice, to give the signal to bring forward the sacrificial animals

but the evidence in the iconographical material is rather slight. The *salpinx* is found in a few scenes with Dionysiac processions,

and in one case on a vase associated with the Panathenaic procession:

A trumpeter confronts three, naked young men leading horses. The last of them turns back and gestures to a dressed man holding a staff. Behind him, four naked young men are overpowering a struggling bull. Lastly there is a sacrificer sharpening his long knives (Fig. 4a–b).

9

Synaulia means the playing together of *auloi*, but the term was used also for the simultaneous playing of various instruments.

If played together, as in another Athena procession on a Attic black-figured kylix,

with two auletes and one person playing a string instrument (probably a *kithara*) on the amphora in Berlin (Fig. 3) or on a fragment from the Acropolis,

the *auloi*-player usually precedes the player of the string instrument. An exception is the Pitsa pinax, where the boy playing the lyra is slightly in front of the somewhat older aulete. Perhaps they should be seen as standing side by side.



Fig. 4a. A *salpinx*-player confronts a procession with horsemen, a large bull and a sacrificer. Red-figured kylix. Courtesy of Soprintendenza di Archeologia di Firenze, inv. 81600.

10

A group of musicians can consist of one aulete and one string-player, one aulete and two string-players, two auletes and one string-player, or two of each, and so on, *i.e.*, consists of various combinations of instrumentalists from two up to eight persons, four on each type of instrument, as seems to be the case on the north frieze of the Parthenon.

25

If the same group was represented also on the south side, this could be taken to indicate a group of up to sixteen musicians in the great Panathenaic procession, the largest orchestra known from classical Greece. It may be noted that Pollux (IV.83) mentions *synaulia* of *auloi* during the Panathenaea.

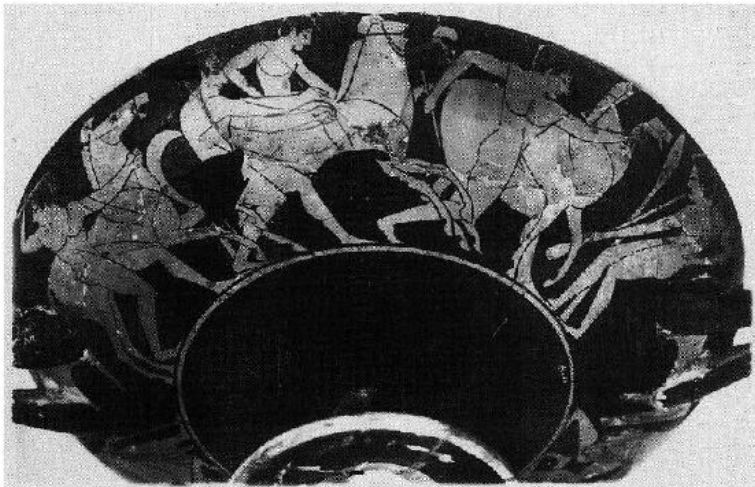


Fig. 4b. A *salpinx*-player confronts a procession with horsemen, a large bull and a sacrifices Red-figured kylix. Courtesy of Soprintendenza di Archeologia di Firenze, inv. 81600.

11

The monophonic nature of ancient Greek music, *i.e.*, the same melody being performed in unison or at an octave by all participants, has often been stressed, and perhaps somewhat exaggerated. Various methods of adding and varying melody and accompaniment were known.

26

In the scenes mentioned, the two *kithara* players on the Berlin amphora 1686 have their fingers on different strings (the first is pressing strings 3, 5, 6, 7 and the second 2, 3, 5 and 7), while both auletes are playing at the same time (see Fig. 3). Perhaps the variation in the positions of the fingers is due only to a wish by the painter to vary the representation, but it can also be seen in relation to the evidence of the Laurion inscription,

27

with a notation for two instruments, *auloi* playing and supporting the musical line with the *kithara* accompaniment. The fact that the *auloi* appear as a single instrument in these scenes, but not the string instruments, also suggests that it was the instrument of the melody.

12

A core group

28

can be distinguished within the processions consisting of the

functionaries, usually the *kanephoros*, the sacrificial animal, sometimes a priest or other cult officials, and the musician. Two main sets of order are common, the first as on the Boiotian lekane, *i.e.*, the *kanephoros* followed by the sacrificial animal, sometimes with leaders, and lastly the musician. In the second set on, *e.g.*, the Affecter's vase, the animal is first, followed by the *kanephoros* and the musician (Fig. 5a–b). The three may be accompanied by people carrying jugs or hydrias appearing with the animal, the *kanephoros*, between the *kanephoros* and the musician or behind the musician.

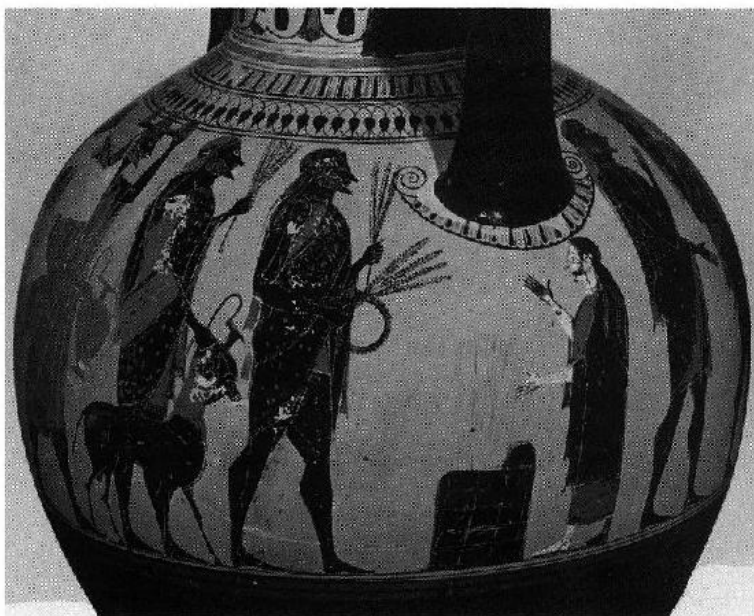


Fig. 5a. An aulete in a procession on a black-figure amphora by the Affecter. Courtesy by Staatliche Antikensammlungen, München, inv. 1441. Photo: Fachlabor F. Zingel & R. Rehm, München.

13

Other types do occur. The musician may occasionally come between the *kanephoros* and the animal.

29

On the shoulder of a black-figured hydria in Paris (Fig. 6),

30

the male aulete stands behind the altar to the right and faces the procession leading up to it. Behind the bearded aulete stands a bearded man, facing the same direction. Left of the altar a child is facing left towards the procession, which is led by a bearded man

holding a wreath. After him the sacrificial animal, a cow, led by two men in loin cloths carrying wreaths and followed by a procession of six clothed men. The use of a female sacrificial animal indicates a sacrifice to a goddess, maybe Athena. Her owl appears in the main field just below the altar.

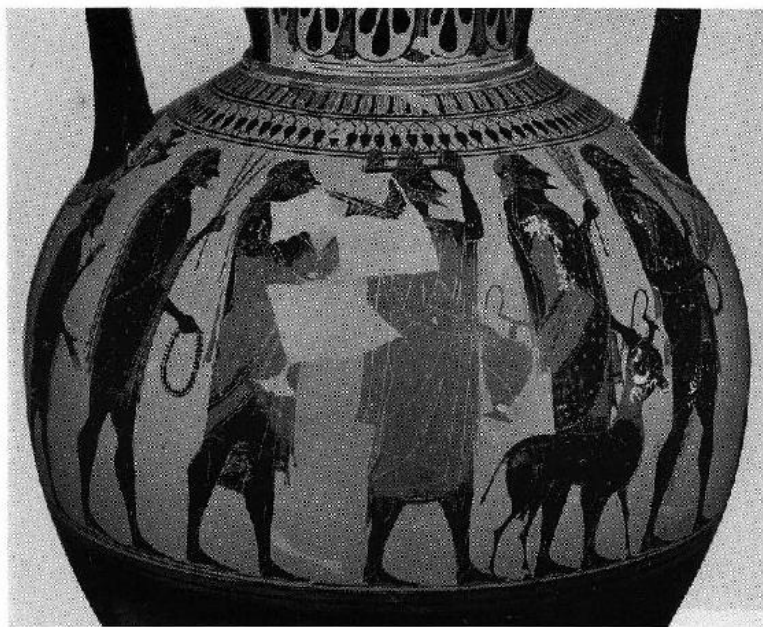


Fig. 5b. An aulete in a procession on a black-figure amphora by the Affekter. Courtesy by Staatliche Antikensammlungen, München, inv. 1441. Photo: Fachlabor F. Zingel & R. Rehm, München.

14

Here should be mentioned also the scenes of Herakles encounter with Bousiris. According to the myth

31

Herakles is lead to the altar to be sacrificed, but he breaks loose and attacks Bousiris and his men. These mythical sacrificial scenes often includes musical instruments. On a kalpis by the Kleophrades Painter in the Louvre (Fig. 7),

32

are two musicians who have taken part in the procession up top the altar: a *lyra*-player is disappearing to the left, while a kitharist is shying away behind the altar. The presence of the string instruments is consistent with the scene being the conclusion of a procession. The presence of the *lyra* and the lack of the *aulei* underlines the mythical

and exotic setting, *i.e.*, the unorthodoxy of the proceedings. In other variants of this scene the *auloi* is present.

33

The instruments fulfil no direct function in any of these scene, but are treated as the other necessary cult paraphernalia: the jugs, baskets, the sacrificial knife, etc.



Fig. 6. Black-figure hydria. Courtesy of Musées du Louvre, inv. F 10. Photo: Musées Nationaux, Paris.



Fig. 7. Herakles and Bousiris on a red-figured kalpis by the Kleophrades Painter.

Sacrificial scenes

15

Let us turn now to the sacrificial scenes.

34

The music is here played almost exclusively with *auloi*. When a string player appears, he is usually Apollo. The strings of the procession scenes have been left aside when the procession reached the cultic area. The *auloi* are found in the following situations: During the pre-kill period following van Straten's

35

terminology: On a vase from Agrigento

36

with a sacrifice to Apollo, and on a bell-krater from Boston

37

in the manner of the Kleophon Painter (Fig. 8). In the latter work the central group consists of a priest dipping his hands in a container held above the altar by a younger man, while the sacrificial animal, a sheep, is being held by a boy to the left. This scene can be interpreted as the washing of the hands.

38

The *auloi* are playing at this stage.

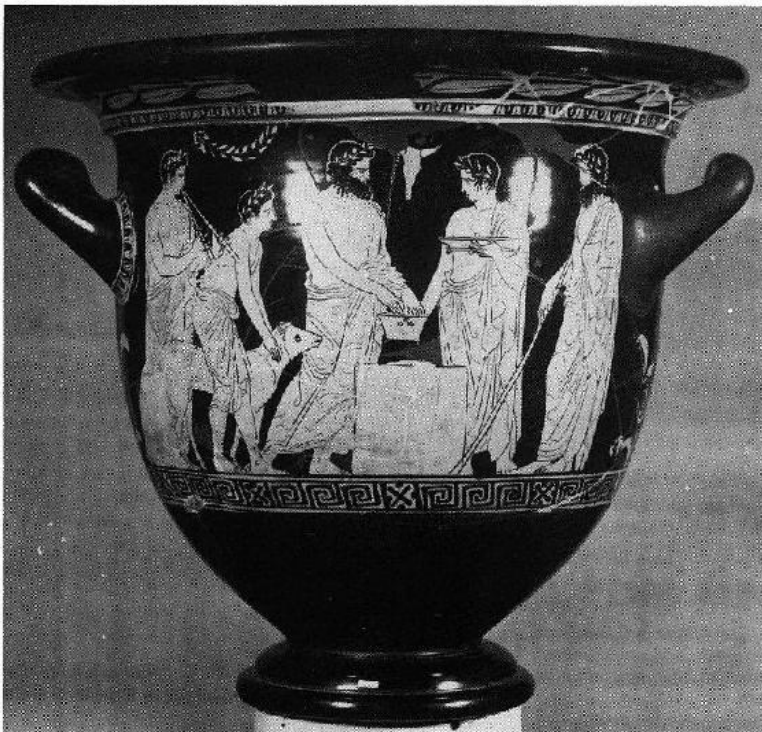


Fig. 8. Sacrificial scene, with an aulete playing to the left. Red-figure bell-krater in the manner of the Kleophon Painter. Courtesy of Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Catherine Page Perkins Fund, inv. 92.25.

16

On a red-figured stamnos in the Louvre (Fig. 9a–b),

39

a sacrificer is touching the head of a bull which is standing besides a large krater, probably containing water – *i. e.*, the scene depicts the sprinkling of water on the animal. The aulete is holding his instruments, but is not playing.

17

The next stage shown is the from the post-kill period, the *splanchna* have been prepared and are being brought forward. On a vase by the Hephaistos Painter

40

with a sacrifice to Apollo, a priest is holding something above the empty altar, probably taken from the basket held by a small boy. Behind the priest the *splanchnopt* is coming forward. The aulete in the back is *not* playing. On a bell-krater in Lecce (Fig. 10),

41

the altar stands in front of a tree, to the left is a man in a loin cloth holds a phiale and to the right a dressed *kanephoros*. This central scene is flanked by naked *splanchnopts*, who are approaching the altar. The aulete to the right is standing on the steps of a temple playing his instruments. In other words, during this stage, the roasting of the *splanchna*, the *auloi* appears both playing and not playing.



Fig. 9a. Sacrificial scene, with a non-playing aulete. Red-figure stamnos by the Eucharides Painter. Courtesy of Musées du Louvre, C 10754. Photo: Musées Nationaux, Paris.

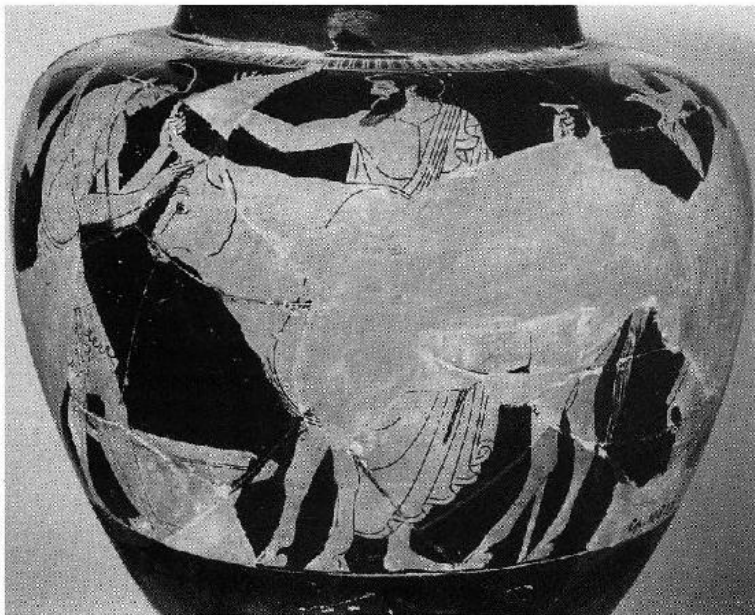


Fig. 9b. Sacrificial scene, with a non-playing aulete. Red-figure stamnos by the Eucharides Painter. Courtesy of Musées du Louvre, C10754. Photo: Musées Nationaux, Paris.

18

In another group of vases the god's portion has been placed on the altar. On a bell-krater by the Pothos Painter

42

an altar with the god's portion on it is found in the centre of the scene. To the left of the altar, a man in a loose mantle is taking something from a low basket proffered by a youth. To the right of the altar a *splanchnopt*, and a man playing *auloi*. The action of latter part of the sacrifice is often shown compressed in time, in a "synoptic" narrative to follow Snodgrass's

43

terminology. It is also possible to take it as representing a general ideal sacrifice, by combining important elements of the sacrifice.

44

Such a scene is found on, *e.g.*, a stamnos by Polygnotos

45

showing a bearded priest, holding a phiale, in front of an altar on which burns the god's portion (Fig. 11). To the right of the altar a *splanchnopt* is roasting his spit in the fire, while another behind him is holding his. Above the altar is a flying Nike, possibly holding a book

roll. Here are represented various stages during the sacrifice: The grilling of the *splanchna*, the burning of the god's portion and a libation are shown at the same time. The large aulete to the right is piping. Such scenes, as this one and one on a vase by the Pothos Painter with the aulete to the left (Fig. 12), can be seen as indicating the later part of the sacrifice in general, the "post-kill" period. It seems to have been a part of the ritual when the *auloi* was played. A kalyx-krater with a sacrifice to Apollo shows the god seated in the background,

46

with two tripods. In the centre is an altar with a standing bearded man holding a staff in his hand to the left. With his other hand he holds a phiale above the altar, *i.e.*, is obviously making a libation, perhaps at the end of the sacrificial ceremony. The *splanchnoptes* are shown as still grilling one spit, while another is retreating from the altar. As in the vase-paintings already mentioned, the *auloi* are being played.



Fig. 10. Sacrificial scene, with a playing aulete. Red-figure bell-krater by the Nikias Painter. Courtesy of Lecce Museum, inv. 630.

In the iconographical material the *auloi* are represented as being played during the first part of the sacrifice – the washing of the hands. They are silent when the animal is sprinkled with water. During the preparation of the altar for the *splanchna*, but before the god's portion has been placed on it they can be either played or

silent. During the latter part of the sacrifice, after the god's portion has been placed on the altar, they are played.

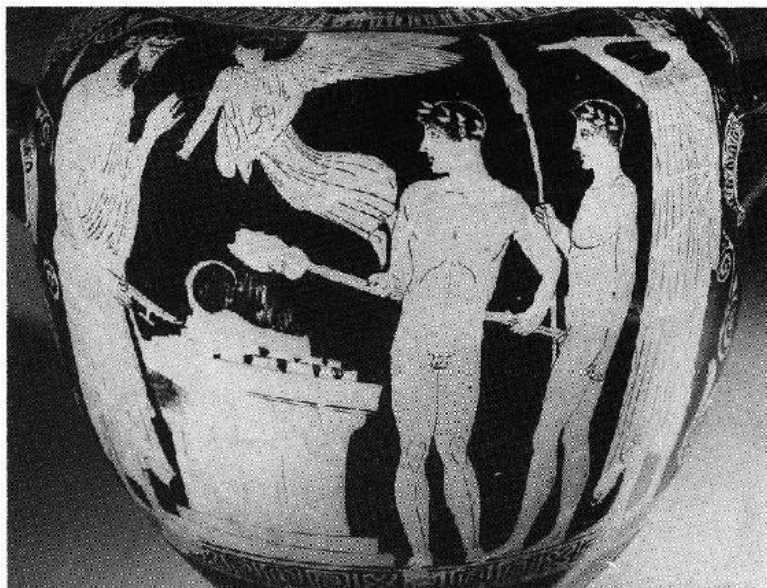


Fig. 11. Sacrificial scene, with a playing aulete. Red-figure stamnos by Polygnotos. Courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum, inv. E 455.

20

In the representations of sacrifices the aulete, always male, is on the periphery of the central scene, never centrally placed. A left entrance, a left to right direction or a right placing of a figure usually carries a higher degree of importance than the opposite.

47

The processions in the vase-paintings usually move from left to right, stopping at the left side of an altar which is placed at the right of the scene. It is thus not unnatural when the aulete is found standing to the left of the altar in three cases out of four. But he can also appear to the right of the altar, which usually is prominently placed in the centre of the picture. The placing of the figures around it must also, at least partly, be due to the artist's aesthetic preference and the composition of the picture itself.



Fig. 12. Sacrificial scene with a playing aulete. Red-figure bell-krater by the Pothos Painter. Courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum, inv. 504.

The musicians and their role

21

The musicians in the scenes discussed can be male or female, and vary in age from children to bearded men. Women auletes, always clothed, are found on the Corinthian vases and on the Caeretan hydria in Copenhagen (Fig. 2).

48

Women are never shown playing the *kithara*. Male musicians of various ages are more common. On the Pitsa pinax,

49

the music is played by two boys, the lyre player slightly older than the little aulete. On the fragmentary black-figure amphora from the

the musical group consists of a bearded aulete, followed by two kitharists, the last an adult of which only fragments survive, and before him a boy. This boy, the smallest of the represented humans, is playing a *kithara* that is clearly smaller than that of his grown companion. On the Attic kylix showing a procession to Athena

the musical ensemble consists of two auletes, one without and one with beard, and a large unbearded lyra-player. The adult musicians are depicted as of similar size as the rest of the participants. They are usually clothed, occasionally in a draped mantle, often in long festive dress, but naked auletes do occur occasionally, *e.g.*, on the skyphos of the Theseus painter in Stuttgart.

In private sacrifices the instruments were played either by members of the family or by rented professionals. Some musical education was basic for any Athenian with a claim to belong to the educated classes. On the Pitsa pinax the two boys that handle the lyre and the *auloi*, are best seen as members of the represented family. But in other cases professional musicians participated. By the 3rd century B.C. Dionysiac *synodoi* were formed by professional actors and musicians.

Professional musicians employed at sanctuaries are known from the Hellenistic period onwards.

When did professionalism in music come into the cult? It seems clear that professionals played a role in dramatic and dithyrambic music during the classical period,

and it would be likely that this is true also of auletes in processions and at sacrifices. The professional aulete Chairis, *e.g.*, turns up in some of Aristophanes' plays.

It is perhaps possible to distinguish professional musicians on the vase paintings through the typical long aulete's dress,

but to establish the status of such a musician, whether belonging to

the artisans or the artistes, seems as difficult as it probably was in real life. In our material it would be tempting to see the group of two adults and a boy musician on the Acropolis fragment as professionals, with the boy working together with his older companions and teachers. The aulete standing before the Athena-altar in his long aulete's dress on the Princeton Painter's amphora in New York

58

should perhaps also be taken as a professional (Fig. 13). The scene resembles an abbreviated processional scene, because of the presence of the girl carrying the new dress to Athena.



Fig. 13. Panathenaic amphora by the Princeton Painter. Courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Rogers Fund (53.11.1).

Instrumental music was common enough in Greek sacrifices as to make Herodotus (1.132) comment with surprise upon the absence of *aulos-music* in Persian cult.

59

The association of *auloi* with sacrifice is made frequently in, *e.g.*, Aristophanes. What was the function of music during the processions and at the sacrifice? First it should be noted that the vase-paintings discussed above are not quite compatible: the processional scenes are mainly black-figure (Corinthian, a Caeretan hydria, Boiotian, and Attic). Only a few are red-figured, among them a fragment from Menidi by the Pan Painter.

60

In the cases where a recipient can be discerned it is usually Athena or some other female deity, as in, *e.g.*, the “Frauenfest” scenes. In one case the recipient is Hermes. The sacrificial scenes are all red-figured, the recipients are male gods, usually Apollo;

61

Hermes is the recipient in the scene on the neck of a volute krater by the Kadmos Painter in Lecce.

62

In other words, there is a distinct change in the iconographical representations, as pointed out by Lehnstaedt

63

and others, from an interest in procession scenes with many participants on equal footing, to the sacrifice itself with only a few important functionaries, as well as from female deities, especially Athena, to male deities, especially Apollo. This may reflect a change within the Athenian society from an old-fashioned collective cult of the state goddess to a more individual type of religion.

The red-figured sacrificial scenes are often shown without an aulete. This hardly means that the Athenians by the 5th century B.C. did without the *auloi* during official sacrifices, but rather reflect the strong bias against the instrument common among the Athenian elite. From the mid-5th century onwards purely instrumental music, especially *aulos* music, was considered especially in polite Athenian

circles inferior to vocal music, and the *auloi* had less status than the *kithara* and other string instruments.

64

The condemnation of inventive modern music, especially *auloi* music, seems not to have been shared by the ordinary citizen, as is evidenced by the repeated blastings by the philosophers down through the 4th century and later.

65

Instead skilled musical virtuosi remained very popular.

66

The condemnation of the *auloi* as too complex, emotional and orgiastic, or as weak or mournful an instrument, which disfigured ones face, and made it impossible to sing or recite at the same time as playing, seems to have developed during the 5th century. The auletic traditions of Argos and Thebes were older and stronger,

67

and it is possible to see the protest of the intellectual Athenian circles partly as a prejudice against provincial and less sophisticated traditions, as witnessed by the statement attributed to Alcibiades: "Let the Thebans play the *aulos*, for they are ignorant of how to converse."

68

26

That one *could* make a private sacrifice without *aulos* music is shown in *Peace* (950) where the sacrifice is hurried on in order not to have the aulete Chairis to turn up and demanding payment for his services. He turns up later in *Birds* (850) instead.

27

The processions of modern time tend to have their musical bands leading the way, warning spectators of the coming of the processions, indicating the nature of, and creating the mood for the procession, and assisting the marching. Processional music clearly filled another function during the 5th century B.C. *Salpinges* may have signalled the advent of the procession, but the music band proper is found well into the *pompe*. As pointed out by Wegner,

69

the musicians are found at the end of the functionaries but leading the rest of the participants in the procession. The same is true of the sacrificial scenes: the musicians stand on the periphery of the

functionaries. In other words, they serve as intermediaries or transmitters between the cult functionaries, and the cult action they are performing, and the other participants, and as a boundary marking the space where the ritual takes place.

70

28

In these scenes, the non-playing participants are rarely reacting directly to the music. In the Boiotian Athena procession, a man behind the aulete is stepping in a dance. That dancing was a part of the cult is shown on many vase paintings, but rarely appears in our scenes. But in general their attention is focused on the cultic activity, the goal of the procession or the altar, or occasionally on the other participants. The music functioned *together* with the participants and directly in the cultic action, rather than relating to passive spectators standing by the side.

29

During the sacrifice the *auloi* accompanied song: In the *Birds* (857–858) the Paian is accompanied by Chairis on the *auloi*. It has also been suggested that the *auloi* was used as during the sacrifice as a replacement for the sacrificial shrieks, *ololyge*, of the Homeric age and later.

71

This seems less probable. The *ololyge* seem to have accompanied the actual killing of the animal,

72

a stage when the *auloi* appears to be silent. The *auloi* function has also been described either as apotropaic,

73

or a festive coming to the god:

74

With the sound of the Lydian pipes the fleeing man approaches Zeus in Pindar's 5th Olympic Ode (V.45). This can be seen as a calling for the god

75

or a warning to the god that someone is approaching: "Pan is not a god one should approach in silence".

76

I would like to mention another function: *aulos* music was accepted or not accepted by the god, *i.e.*, it functioned as an offering.

77

Votives of real or miniature instruments or figures of musicians found in many Greek sanctuaries,

78

may perhaps also be seen in this light. In a typical anecdote by pseudo-Plutarch

79

the talented amateur aulete Ismenias is contrasted to the bad professional player. Ismenias has been piping for a long time at a sacrifice without any sign of the god accepting his music, when a professional takes over and gets the required sign within a short space of time—a sign of better skill one would have thought. But the comment of Ismenias is: “The god liked my music so much that they never wanted it to stop, you played so badly that they got you to shut up immediately.”

Notes

1 Instrumental music had a place in the musical *agones* from the 6th century. The *auletikos nomos* or *auletike techne*, solo for the *auloi*, was, according to tradition, introduced into the games at Delphi in 586 by Sakadas of Argos with his *Pythikos nomos*, illustrating Apollo’s fight with the dragon, while the *kitharistikos nomos* or *kitharistike techne*, solo for the *kithara*, was first performed in 558 by Aristonikos, also from Argos (ps.-Plut., *De Mus.* 1133c); Michaelides, s.v. *nomos*; Neubecker 44f. For musical agones at the Panathenaea, J. A. Davidson, “Notes on the Panathenaea”, *JHS* 78 (1958) 23–42

2 Haldane 1966, 104; T. Linders, “Continuity in change”, in: *Early Greek cult practice* (ActaAth-4°, 38), eds. R. Hägg, N. Marinatos & G.C. Nordquist, Stockholm 1988, 268f; Ph. Bruneau, *Recherches sur les cultes de Délos à l’époque hellénistique et à l’époque impériale* (BEFAR, 217), Paris 1970, 37f.

3 Proclus includes the *aulas* in his definition of *prosodion*, cf. *bibl. Phot.* 320a 18ff Becker; *RE* s.v. *prosodia*; Haldane 1966, 99; *GMW* 1, 51.

4 Ps.-Plut., *De Mus.* 1132c; Paus. IX, 12, 6; Lehnstaedt, n. 127; Hes. s.v. *kuklikoi auloi*; Barker, *GMW* 1, 51f.

5 The *aulos* was probably a double reed instrument, related to the shawm and the oboe. A beating reed *aulos*, i.e., a clarinet-type of instrument, may have appeared during the 4th century. The single *aulos*, *monaulos*, seems to be a later development,

see Michaelides, s.v. *monaulos*; W Vetter, *RE* s.v. *monaulos*. The *aulos* became especially connected with the Dionysos cult and other orgiastic cults. K. Schlesinger, *The Greek aulos*, London 1939; Wegner, *Musikleben*, 52–58; Michaelides s.v. *aulos*; Neubecker, 76–82, esp. 79 n. 65; Paquette, *L'instrument*, 23–37; *GMW* 1, 14–16.

Double wind instruments are known from the Cycladic and Minoan cultural spheres from the Early Bronze Age onwards, e.g., the Cycladic figurine in the Athens National Museum, and on the A. Triadha sarcophagus. It seems to have arrived to the Greek mainland in the Late Geometric period from Anatolia: the mythical auletes Olympos, Marsyas and Hyagnis have Anatolian origin, and the *aulos* music is connected with terms linking it with Asia Minor, B. Aign, *Die Geschichte der Musikinstrumente des ägaischen Raumes bis um 700 v. Chr.*, Diss. Frankfurt a.M. 1963, 121–123, 145f., 210, 357. For *auloi* in Late Geometric vase-paintings, cf. Dora Notou, “Musical instruments in early Greek art: Their Oriental and Cypriot models”, *Praktika B' diethnous kyprilogikou synedriou*, Tomos A, Lefkosia 1985, 415–422.

6 Paris, Bibl. Nat. 4827, Corinthian pyxis by the Skating Painter, 1st quarter 6th century: CVA Paris, Bibl. Nat. 1, Pl. 17 (France 7, PL 301); H. Payne, *Necrocorinthia*, Oxford 1931, no. 878; *LIMC* s.v. *Eileithia*, no. 82; D. A. Amyx, *Corinthian vase painting of the Archaic period*, Berkeley, Los Angeles & London 1988, 654, cat. no. A-1; D. Callipolitis-Feytmans, *BCH* 94 (1970) 45, Fig. 1; I. Jucker, *AntK* 6 (1963) PL 23.2; Wegner, *Musikleben*, 191.

See also a Corinthian bottle by Bézier's *Frauenfest* Painter with two registers of figures, in the upper a small procession with a woman carrying the *kanoun*, a child and a woman aulete; women talking and carrying wreaths, Amyx, *op. cit.*, 653, cat. p. 229f.

7 Oslo, Mus. of Ethnography 6909, Corinthian amphoriskos: CVA Oslo 1, PL 4 (Norway 1, PL. 4); S. Eitrem, “Opferaufzug und Opfermusikauf korinthischer Amphora”, *ArchEph* 1953–1954 (1955), 25–34.; K. Friis Johansen, *OpRom* 4 (1962) 75, Fig. 7; Amyx (*supra* n. 6), 65.

8 British Museum B 80, Boiotian lekane: CVA London 2, PL 7a–b (Great Britain 2, PL 65: 4a–b); C. Smith, *JHS* 1 (1880) 202, PL 7; Pfuhl, *MuZ* III, no. 169; B. A. Sparkes, “The taste of a Boiotian pig”, *JHS* 87 (1967) 121, Pl. XVIIa.

9 Berlin, Ant. Samml. 1727, Boiotian black-figure exaleiptron: ABV 29, 1; CVA Berlin 4, Taf. 196: 1, 4 (Deutschland 33, Pl. 1622:1, 4); G. Berthiaume, *Le rôle de mageiros. Études sur la boucherie, la cuisine et le sacrifice dans la Grèce ancienne* (Mnemosyne, Suppl. 70), Leiden 1982, 109 n. 7, Pl. 10; Sparkes (*supra* n. 8).

10 Athens, Nat. Mus. 12531, Boiotian black-figure skyphos: A. Malagardis, “Deux temps d'une fête athénienne sur un skyphos attique”, *AntK* 38 (1985) 12–92; Lehnstaedt 194, K29.

11 Stuttgart KAS 74, black-figure skyphos by the Theseus Painter, c. 500 B.C.: *Paralip.* 258; CVA Stuttgart 1, Taf. 19: 1–2, 20: 1 (Deutschland 26, Taf. 1231: 1–2, 1232:1).

12 Munich 1441, black-figure amphora by the Affekter, late work: ABV 238 (242) 243; CVA Miinchen 7, Taf. 336:4, 338 (Deutschland 32, Taf. 1550:4, 1552); H. Mommsen, *Der Affekter*, Mainz 1975, no. 106.

13 Copenhagen, Nat. Mus. 13.567, Caeretan hydria: K. Friis Johansen, "Eine neue Caeretaner Hydria", *OpRom* 4 (1962) 61–81; Durand, *Sacrifice et labour*, 106; *idem*, "Ritual as instrumentality", in: *The cuisine*, 119–128, Fig. 19; Berthiaume (*supra* n. 9) Pl. 10.

14 Berlin 1686, belly-amphora, by the Painter of Berlin 1686, c. 540–530, from Vulci: ABV 296.4, *Para* 128; Wegner, *MGB*, Figs. 12–13; *Bull. Metr.*, Oct. 1953, 54f.; J. Boardman, *ABFV*, Fig. 135; H. W. Parke, *Festivals of the Athenians*, London 1977, Fig. 67; A. Rumpf, *Rel.* Figs. 153–154; Lehnstaedt, 191 K 9

15 The *kithara* seems to have developed from the *phorminx* of the Homeric epics, *cf.* Aign (*supra* n. 5), 238; Neubecker 73; Michaelides s.v. *kithara*. For string instruments in general, M. Maas and J. McIntosh Snyder, *Stringed instruments of ancient Greece*, New Haven & London 1989. For the equipment of the *kithara*, *cf.* Maas and Snyder, 67f.; Paquette, *L'instrument*, 90–101.

16 The lyre, according to one tradition an invention of Hermes, was the leading school- or amateur-instrument; Maas and Snyder (*supra* n. 15), 85–91; Paquette, *L'instrument*, 142–169.

17 Athens, Nat. Mus. 16464, wooden pinax from Pitsa: J. Charbonneaux, R. Martin and F. Villard. *Archaic Greek art, 620–490 B.C.*, London 1971, 312, PL 357; Maas and Snyder (*supra* n. 15), 52, Fig. 17; EAA VI, 202–203; G. Neumann, *Problème des griechischen Weihreliefs*, Tübingen 1979, 27, PL 12a.

18 The *salpinx* was mainly a military instrument used for signals and alerts, *cf.* Xen. *Hipp.* III 11–12; *Equ.* IX 11. It was used for similar purposes in civil life, *cf.* Paquette, *L'instrument*, 74–83; Michaelides, s.v. *salpinx*; Wegner, *Musikleben*, 60f. For trumpet *agones*, see Wegner, *Musikleben*, 61; *idem*, *MGB*, 78–80.

19 For the *salpinx* in cult, *cf.* Wegner, *Musikleben*, 61. *Salpinges* were used in the procession to the heroes' tomb at Plataia, Plut. *Arist.* 21 G.F. 455f.; M. R Nilsson, "Die Prozessionstypen im griechischen Kult", *Jdl* 31 (1916) 312; Haldane 1966, 101; L. Ziehen, *Hermes* 66 (1931) 231, on an Athenian inscription regulating the Hephaisteia (IG I³ 82), dated to 421–430 B.C., lines 30–31: "apo salp[ingos]". *Cf.* Lehnstaedt, 56, 89f.

20 A. Frickenhaus, "Der Schiffskarren des Dionysos in Athen", *Jdl* 27 (1912) 65f; Eitrem (*supra* n. 7), 28 n. 3.

1. Bologna, Mus. Civ. inv. 130, black-figure skyphos, close to Theseus Painter, c. 500 B.C., with a procession going to the right with Dionysos in a ship-car accompanied by two silens playing the *auloi*, the car drawn by two silens. Directly behind the car a man playing a *salpinx*, followed by four persons and a bull with two leaders: Frickenhaus (*supra*) 61, Beil. 1.3; UMC s.v. Dionysos, no. 829; CVA Bologna 2, tav. 43 (Italia 7, tav. 342); Haspels, *ABL* 253, 15; L. Deubner, *Attische Feste*, Berlin 1956, Taf. 11.1; Parke (*supra* n. 14), Fig. 42.

2. British Museum B 648, black-figure lekythos, close to Theseus Painter?, c. 500: Haspels, *ABL* 267, 14 (Beldam Painter); Lehnstaedt 200 K76, Taf. 4:3; Frickenhaus (*supra*) 65f., Beil. 1.4. A procession going to the right; a man playing a *salpinx* followed by a female *kanephoros*, a man with a thyrsos, a bull with a leader.
- 21 Firenze, Arch. Mus. 81600, red-figure kylix from Saturina: CVA Firenze IV, 111,1, tav. 117–118 (Italia 38, tav. 1689–1690); A. Minto, *MonLinc* 30 (1925) 696ff.; Rumpf, *Rel.* X, no. 164; Lehnstaedt, 201, K84. The presence of the riders in the procession points to the Panathenaea.
- 22 Ath. 617f–618b.
- 23 Private coll., black-figure kylix, close to Glaukytes, c. 560–550 B.C.: H. A. Cahn, in: *Münzen und Medaillen*, Auktion 18, Basel 1958, 27 no. 85; E. Simon, *Die Götter der Griechen*, 193; C. Bérard, “Fête et mystères”, in: *Cité des images*, 105–116, Fig. 152; Lehnstaedt K 5; G. Neumann, *Gesten und Gebärden in der griechischen Kunst*, Berlin 1965, 50.
- 24 Athen, Nat. Mus. Acro 816, fragmentary black-figure amphora with a procession going to the right: a naked boy with branches leading an adorned bull, a naked boy carrying the *kanoun* in his upraised left hand, behind him a man, partly missing. After follows a bearded aulete, a boy playing the *kithara*, and a grown kitharist. Last a boy carrying a branch and straining at a rope attached to the bull’s left hind leg: B. Graef, *Die antiken Vasen von der Akropolis zu Athen II*, Berlin 1911, 99, Taf. 49.816. See also a fragment of a black-figure amphora from Menidi with a procession going to the right: men carrying branches, followed by two auletes and two kitharists, all wreathed. P. Wolters, *Vasen aus Menidi. II*”, *Jdl* 14 (1889) 104f., Fig. 1.
- 25 North frieze: procession towards an assembly of gods. After the sacrificial animals with leaders come *kanephoroi* and *hydrophoroi* followed by the musicians, four auletes and four kitharists (20–27). After them elders etc. South frieze: possibly musicians directly after the animals (102–105). M. Robertson and A. Frantz, *The Parthenon frieze*, London 1975; J. Boardman and D. Finn, *The Parthenon and its sculptures*, London 1985, Pl. 72, 242 nos. 9–27, 102–105.
- 26 Plato, *Leg.* 812d; Neubecker, 97 n. 6; *GMW* 1, 162f.
- 27 P. and D. Themelis, “Mousiko epigramma apo te Laurotike”, *Praktika 3 epistemonikes synanteses NA Attikes*, Kalyvia 1988.
- 28 Eitrem (*supra* n. 7), 28f.; Lehnstaedt, 53f.
- 29 Athen, Nat. Mus. Aero 2009, fragmentary black-figure kylix with a procession, going right, led by a female *kanephoros*, an aulete, and a kitharist, followed by an animal, snout remaining: Graef (*supra* n. 24) III (1914) 199 no. 2009, 89 no. 2009.
- 30 Louvre F 10, black-figured hydria: CVA, Louvre 6, III He, Pls. 61: 3, 62 (France 9, Pls. 400–401); E. Diehl, *Die Hydria*, Mainz 1964, 229, T218, Taf. 35.2, 36; H. Drerup, in: *Festschrift F. Matz*, Mainz 1962, 36; Lehnstaedt, 88f., 192 K15, interprets this as a procession to the old Athena temple on the Acropolis.
- 31 Herodotus 2.45.
- 32 Louvre N 3376 (MN 401), red-figured kalpis by the Kleophrades Painter: ARV2

188,70; CVA Louvre 6, PL 52 (France 9, PL 431); *LIMC*, Bousiris no. 32.

33 For references, cf. R. Vollkommer, *Herakles in the art of Classical Greece*, Oxford 1988, 22f.; *LIMC* s.v. Bousiris; J.L. Durand and F. Lissarague, "Héros cru ou bon cuit: histoire quasi cannibale d'Herakles chez Bousiris", in: *Image et céramique grecque*, Rouen 1983, 153–157. Some examples are:

1. Villa Giulia 57912, red-figured kylix by Epiktetos with an aulete fleeing to the right of the altar: ARV2 72,24; *Add.* 82; *UMC*, Bousiris no. 12; Durand and Lissarague (*supra*) 154; Durand, *Sacrifice et labour*, chap. IV, Fig. 33, p. 115.

2. British Museum E. 38, red-figured kylix by Epiktetos with two musicians among the fleeing men, an aulete wearing his *phorbeia* to the left, to the right a kitharist who has dropped his *kithara*: ARV2 72,16; *Para* 328; *Add.* 82; *LIMC*, Bousiris no. 11; Durand and Lissarague (*supra*) 159; Durand, *Sacrifice et labour*, chap. IV, Fig. 30.

3. Ferrara, Mus. Naz. 609 (T 499), red-figured kylix from Spina in the manner of the Dokimasia Painter with an aulete to the left: ARV2 415,2; *Add.* 116; *VL3* 34, B 5; *LIMC*, Bousiris no. 16; Durand and Lissarague (*supra*) 164.

4. Ferrara, Mus. Naz. 3031 (T 579 VI), red-figured volute krater by the Painter of Boulogne 279, from Spina. On the neck a Bousiris scene including an aulete and a kitharist: ARV2 612,1; *Para* 397; *Add.* 131; *LIMC*, Bousiris no. 27; CVA Ferrara 1, tav. 9 (Italia 37 tav. 1653).

34 Haldane 1966, 101.

35 F. van Straten, "The god's portion in Greek sacrificial representations", in: *Early Greek cult practice* (ActaAth-4°, 38), eds. R. Hägg, N. Marinatos and G.C. Nordquist, Stockholm 1988, 51–67.

36 Agrigento 4688, red-figure bell-krater: Durand, *Sacrifice et labour*, 129 Fig. 51.

37 Boston 95.25, red-figure bell-krater in the manner of the Kleophon Painter: ARV2, 1149,9; *Para* 457, *Add.* 165; *ArchClass* 20 (1968) Pl. 95.1–2; T. B. L. Webster, *Potter and patron in classical Athens*, London 1972, 50f, Fig. 3; Durand, *Sacrifice et labour*, 129 Fig. 52; J. L. Durand and A. Schnapp, "Boucherie sacrificielle et chasses initiatiques", in: *Cité des images*, 49–66, Fig. 82; Durand and Lissarague (*supra* n. 33), 153–167, Fig. 1.

38 F. van Straten (*supra* n. 35), 53; G. Rizza, "Una nouva pelike a figure rosse e lo 'splanchnoptes' di Styppax", *ASAlene* 37–38 (1959–60) 321–345.

39 Louvre C 10754, red-figure stamnos by the Eucharides Painter: ARV2 228,32; J.D. Beazley, in: *Scritti in onore di Guido Libertini*, Firenze 1958, 91f., T 2; J. L. Durand, in: *The cuisine*, 125f., Fig. 13.

40 Frankfurt, Museum für Vor- und Frühgeschichte B 413, red-figure bell-krater by the Hephaistos Painter: ARV2 1683,31bis; *Para* 453, *Add.* 162; CVA Frankfurt 2, Pls. 77:1–2, 78:1–2 (Deutschland 30, Pls. 1468–1469); Metzger, *Imageries*, PL 47; K.J. Dover, *Greek homosexuality*, Cambridge, Mass., 1978, R934; Durand, *Sacrifice et labour*, 137, Fig. 62a–b; van Straten (*supra* n. 35), 57f., n. 31.

41 Lecce 630, red-figure bell-krater from Rugge, by the Nikias Painter: CVA Lecce, Mus. Prov. 2, IVD tav. 9:1 ; 3 (Italia 6, tav. 248:1 & 3); ARV2 1334,13; Wegner, *Musikleben*, 192; I. McPhee, *Attic vase-painters of the late 5th century B.C.*, Diss. Univ. of

Cincinnati 1973 (Univ. Microfilms 73-24-846), 113f.

42 Nancy, Inst. d'Archéologie, red-figure bell-krater, by the Pothos Painter: ARV2 1190,26; M. Bulard, *BCH* 70 (1946) 42-50, Pl. II; G. Rizza (*supra* n. 38), 336 n. 6, 340 Fig. 25; Metzger, *Imageries*, 110, 14; van Straten (*supra* n. 35), 65 no. 28.

43 A. Snodgrass, *Narration and allusion* (Myers lecture 1982), London 1982. Occasional scenes with instruments in the same field as butchering scenes are perhaps best taken in the same way: as various time stages in the same feast, Berthiaume (*supra* n. 9), 48-52.

44 A. Verbanck-Piérard, "Images et piété en Grèce classique: la contribution de l'iconographie céramique à l'étude de la religion grecque", *Kernos* 1 (1988) 223-233; Chr. Sourvinou-Inwood, in: *Fragen und Probleme der bronzezeitlichen ägäischen Glyptik* (Corpus der minoischen und mykenischen Siegel, Beiheft 3), Berlin 1989, 246-248.

45 British Museum E 455, red-figure stamnos by Polygnotos. An altar with the god's portion in the centre, to the left a bearded man (Diomedes) holding a phiale, to the right a *splanchnopt* holding the *splanchna* over the altar, behind him a youth with staff and *splanchna*, behind him an aulete, playing. Over the altar a flying Nike holding a book roll?: ARV2 1028,9; CVA London 3, PL 124 (Great Britain 4, Pl. 189); H. Smith, *BMCat* III (1896), E 455; Rizza (*supra* n. 38), 327, Fig. 9; van Straten (*supra* n. 35), 63 no. 14; Metzger, *Imageries*, 108, 6; Webster (*supra* n. 37), 50, PL 4a.

See also:

1. Port Sunlight no. 5036 (x2140), red-figure bell-krater, Petworth group, last quarter of the 5th century, from Capua. In the centre an altar with the god's portion, in front of a column. To the left a bearded man holding a phiale over the altar, behind him a playing *aulete*. To the right a youth holding a jug in his left hand and the *kanoun* in his right. Behind him a man with a branch and a phiale: ARV2 1182,2; LIMC s.v. Apollo, no. 952; M. Robertson, *Greek, Etruscan and Roman vases in the Lady Lever Art Gallery, Port Sunlight*, Liverpool 1987, 92, no. 37; E. M. Tillyard, *The Hope vases*, Cambridge 1923; van Straten (*supra* n. 35), 63, no. 24.

2. British Museum 504, red-figured bell-krater, Pothos painter: *BMCat* III, no. 504a; ARV2 1190; Rizza 329, Fig. 24; Metzger, *Imageries*, 109, no. 13; van Straten (*supra* n. 35), 65 no. 27, Fig. 19.

The red-figure stamnos with a similar motif, British Museum E 456, was heavily restored. On the original sherds no musical instrument appears, according to the information kindly supplied by B. A. Jackson, British Museum: ARV2 1051,17; CVA London 3, PL 24 (Great Britain 4, Pl. 189); H. Smith, *BMCat* III (1896), E456; Rizza (*supra* n. 38), 32f.; Metzger, *Imageries*, 108, 7; Webster (*supra* n. 37), 50f, PL 4b; van Straten (*supra* n. 35), 63 no. 16.

46 Basel art market, red-figure kalyx-krater, group of Kadmos Painter, c. 420 B.C., with a sacrifice to Apollo. In the centre an altar, in the background two tripods on stands. To the left of the altar a bearded man with a staff holding a phiale above the altar, behind him a young *splanchnopt*, retreating. To the right of the altar a man holding the *splanchna* over the altar, behind him an aulete, playing. In the

background a seated Apollo with lyre and branch; to the right a silen, to the left a watching woman, probably Artemis: *Münzen und Medaillen, Kunstwerke der Antike* 56 (1980), no. 107; Durand, *Sacrifice et labour*, 132, Fig. 56a–b.

47 R. Hertz, “La prééminence de la main droite: étude sur la polarité religieuse”, *Revue philosophique* 68 (1909) 553–80, Engl. transi. in: *Right and left. Essays on dual symbolism*, R. Needham, ed., Chicago & London 1973; G. Lloyd, “Right and left in Greek philosophy” in: *Right and left*, 167–186, esp. 170; Sourvinou-Inwood (*supra* n. 44), 249.

48 *Supra*, nn. 6, 7 and 13.

49 *Supra*, n. 17.

50 *Supra*, n. 24.

51 *Supra*, n. 23.

52 *Supra*, n. 11.

53 J. A. Kemp, “Professional musicians in ancient Greece”, *Greece and Rome* 13 (1966) 213–222; A. W. Pickard-Cambridge, *Dramatic festivals of Athens*, Oxford 1955, ch. 7.

54 For the choir and female aulete at Delos, see Linders (*supra* n. 2), 268f.; Bruneau (*supra* n. 2), 37f.

55 Kemp (*supra* n. 53), 220.

56 Aristophanes, *Pax* 950; *Aves* 858.

57 M. Bieber, *Jdl* 32 (1917) 65f.; J. Boardman, *JHS* 95 (1975) 11 n. 44.

58 New York 53.11.1, Panathenaic amphora by the Princeton Painter, c. 550 B.C. To the left an aulete before an altar with a burning fire, behind which stands Athena Promachos; behind Athena a woman carrying the cloth on her head and a wreath in her hand: *ABV* 298 no. 5; *CVA* New York 4, Pl. 13 (USA 16, Pl. 741); *JRGZM* 8 (1961) 70 VI no. 12; Webster (*supra* n. 37), Fig. 13; *Münzen und Medaillen* 1953, 33 no. 320.

59 See also Plat. *Epic.* 1102A; Haldane 1966, 101, 106. Instruments were usually not used in the chthonic cults, Haldane 1966, 106.

60 Fragmentary red-figure kantharos by the Pan Painter: P. Wolters, “Vasen aus Menidi. II”, *Jdl* 14 (1889) 106, Fig. 8; *ARV2* 558, 142; A. B. Follman, *Der Pan-Maler*, Bonn 1968, 66, Pl. 2.1. Procession going left: a bearded man carrying a jug, and a beardless man dressed in a loincloth carrying a jug, followed by an aulete and a kitharist.

61 E.g., the red-figure kalyx-krater, *supra* n. 46.

62 Lecce J. 1093, red-figure volute krater by the Kadmos Painter. On the neck, side A: Apollo and Marsyas, Hermes appearing to the right. Side B: Sacrifice to Hermes. In the centre a garlanded altar with the god’s portion, to the left a man in a loose mantle watching the altar, behind him a young *splanchnopt* and a playing aulete in front of a herm. To the right of the altar a *splanchnopt*, behind him a bearded man and a seated youth: *ARV2* 1184, 1; *CVA* Lecce, Mus. Prov. 2, IV DR, tav. 9, 2–3 (Italia 6, tav. 248); H. Sichtermann, *Griechische Vasen in Unteritalien*, 1966, 20f., Taf. 12–17.

63 Lehnstaedt, *passim*.

64 Plato, *Leg.* 669b–670b, *Resp.* 399 d–e.

65 *GMW* 1, 133 n. 32; Aristophanes, *Nub.* 968ff.; *Ran.* 1314; Plato, *Leg.* 700ff, 812 b;

Aristoxenos ap. Athen. XIV 631 f.; Kemp (*supra* n. 53), 213–222. No prejudice is shown against instrumental music in the Panathenaic *agones* at the time of Pericles, see Plut. *Per.* 13.11, discussed by Davidson (*supra* η. 1), 33–36, 41f. A 4th century prize list (IG II–III², 2311) mentions all four competitions.

66 The musical *agones* gave opportunity for musicians such as Sakadas from Argos to evolve a tradition of high technical, artistic and intellectually satisfying music. Also the theatre performances needed and invited not only a high standard of musical performance but also musical invention, as exemplified by Euripides, *cf.* GMW 1, 62f.

67 For the auletes of Thebes and Argos, see Kemp (*supra* n. 53), 219, 221; GMW 1, 97.

68 Plato, *Alcib.* I. 106e; Kemp (*supra* n. 53), 219.

69 Wegner, *Musikleben*, 96f.; Haldane 1966, 101.

70 E. Werner, “Music and religion”, in: *The encyclopedia of religion*, ed. M. Eliade, vol. 10, New York and London 1987, 169f.

71 Nilsson, GGR2 138f.; Wegner, *Musikleben*, 97.

72 Aesch. *Sept.* 267f; Ag. 1128; Eurip. *IT* 1335–1338; G. S. Kirk, in: *Le sacrifice dans l'antiquité* (Entretiens sur l'antiquité classique, 27), Genève 1980, 66; W Burkert, *ibid.*, III; *idem*, *Greek religion*, Cambridge Mass. 1985, 56.

73 Wegner, MGB, 8; *idem*, *Musikleben*, 97.

74 Wegner, MGB, 8; *idem*, *Musikleben*, 98.

75 Wegner, *Musikleben*, 97: calling the god to a food offering.

76 Menander, *Dyskolos* 432.8.

77 Parke (*supra* n. 14), 21.

78 For example, lead figurines of instruments and instrumentalists in the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia (*The sanctuary of Artemis Orthia at Sparta* (JHS, Suppl. 5), ed. R. M. Dawkins, London 1929, Pls. 161–162; terracottas with instruments (Apollo?) and Pan figures at Lindos, (*Lindos* 1, Plms. 110, 134, 135; *cf.* B. Alroth, *Greek gods and figurines* (Boreas 18), Uppsala 1989, 64 n. 514); bronze figure of Apollo with *kithara* at Lusoi (*LIMC*, Apollo no. 193, *cf.* Alroth, *op. cit.*, p. 95 n. 590); figurines from the Athena sanctuary at Emporio (J. Boardman, *Excavations in Chios 1952–1955– Greek Emporio*, BSA Suppl. 6, London 1967, Pl. 96) to mention a few.

79 Ps. Plut. *Quaest. symp.* II,1 632c–d.

Endnotes

* In addition to the customary abbreviations, the following are used:

Cité des images = *La cité des images, Religion et société en Grèce antique*, Paris 1984. *The cuisine* = M. Détienne & J.-P. Vernant (eds.), *The cuisine of the Greek sacrifice*, Chicago 1989.

Durand, *Sacrifice et labour* = J. L. Durand, in: *Sacrifice et labour en Grèce ancienne*, Paris 1986.

- GMW 1 = A. Barker, *Greek musical writing*, 1. *The musician and his art*, Cambridge 1984 (Pb 1989).
- GMW 2 = A. Barker, *Greek musical writing*, 2. *Harmonic and acoustic theory*, Cambridge 1985.
- Haldane 1966 = J. A. Haldane, "Musical instruments in Greek worship", *Greece and Rome* 1966.
- Lehnstaedt = K. Lehnstaedt, *Prozessionsdarstellungen auf attischen Vasen*, Diss. München 1970.
- Metzger, *Imageries* = 11. Metzger, *Recherches sur l'imagerie athénienne*, Paris 1965.
- Michaelides = S. Michaelides, *The music of ancient Greece. An encyclopedia*, London 1978.
- Neubecker = A.J.
- Neubecker, *Altgriechische Musik. Eine Einführung*, Darmstadt 1977.
- Paquette = D. Paquette, *L'instrument de musique dans la céramique de la Grèce antique* (Univ.de Lyon IL Publ. de la Bibliothèque S. Reinach, 4), Paris 1984.
- Rumpf, Rel. = A. Rumpf, *Bilderatlas zur Religionsgeschichte*. 13-14 Lief: *Die Religion der Griechen*, Leipzig 1928.
- Wegner, MGB = M. Wegner, *Musikgeschichte in Bildern*, 2: *Musik des Altertums*, 1963.
- Wegner, *Musikleben* = M. Wegner, *Das Musikleben der Griechen*, Berlin 1949.

A Scene of Funerary Cult from Argos

Robin Hägg

1

The French excavations at Argos, which started in the 1950's, revealed the existence of yet another independent regional style of Orientalizing pottery. It was baptized the "Proto-Argive" style on the pattern of Proto-Attic, with which it seems to have been approximately contemporary (*i.e.*, flourishing during the main part of the 7th century).

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2

There is, however, no comparison between the two styles regarding productivity and variation, at least to judge from the very few Proto-Argive specimens known so far. The most remarkable piece from Argos is a large fragment of a krater with, curiously enough, the same motif as on the famous Proto-Attic amphora from Eleusis: the blinding of Polyphemos.

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The remaining vases,

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perhaps a dozen altogether, lack figure scenes, with the exception of a few fragmentary specimens and one single, well-preserved krater; the latter will be the topic of this paper.

3

This krater, with the excavation number C. 26611 (Figs. 1-2), was found in 1970 in the south quarter of Argos, the so-called *secteur* δ of the French excavations.

4

The tomb, no. 319, consisted of a small, ovoid pithos, in which was

found the skeleton of an adult; the krater had been used as a lid to close the mouth of the pithos. The excavator, Jean-François Bommelaer, published several reports in *BCH* during the following years, 1971-72, treating both the entire excavated area

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and, in particular, the Proto-Argive pottery found in several tombs here.



Fig. 1. Argos. Proto-Argive krater C. 26611 from grave 319. Side A. Courtesy J.-F. Bommelaer and École française d'Athènes (neg. no. 63403).



Fig. 2. Argos. Proto-Argeive krater C. 26611 from grave 319. Side B. Courtesy J.-F. Bommelaer and École française d'Athènes (neg. no. 63404).

4

The shape and decoration of the krater are clearly developed from the typical Argeive Late Geometric kraters of the late 8th century. One should note the high lip, the high ring-base and the stirrup handles. The decorative scheme conforms to that of LG kraters, although some Orientalizing elements have been introduced.

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The closely set wavy lines in a kind of “Flimmer-Stil”, executed with the help of a multiple brush, occur already in the latest Geometric phase. In the centre of the main decorated field, *i.e.*, in the handle-zone, on side A is a figure-scene (Figs. 1 and 3) with a standing female holding a small pot against the side of a big, standing pot. The scene is framed by vertical cables. A trait typical of 7th century vase-painting, but not of the preceding Geometric, is that the other side of the vase, side B (Fig. 2), has a different, less elaborate design. There is no figure scene in the centre of this side, but an abstract motif,

possibly of vegetal or floral derivation. I have not been able to find good parallels or possible prototypes for it; it might have a symbolical meaning, possibly connected with the figure scene of the other side. In the central scene of side A, the female figure is standing on the lower of two horizontal lines, the upper one being interrupted at this place; her head does not quite reach to the upper delimiting line. She is bending slightly to the right, towards the standing big pot. She is wearing a long chequer-patterned dress with reserved white squares. The feet are small, seen in a narrow field delimited by elements hanging down from the hem of the dress (tassels?). The waist seems to have been slim, but here and above it some detail has got lost due to the breaking of the pot. It looks, however, as if the upper body was covered by an overfold of the dress. The arms are drawn as single, thick lines, one (the left?) outstretched and slightly bent over the standing pot, the other (the right?) strongly bent at the elbow and holding a smaller pot of elongated, slender form. The neck and face are done in outline technique, probably with a prominent nose. The hair, in solid paint, is smooth on top of the head and hanging down in braids at the back, forming the triangle well-known from Daedalic representations. It is possible that a diadem is intended. I am not sure whether the ear was drawn or not.

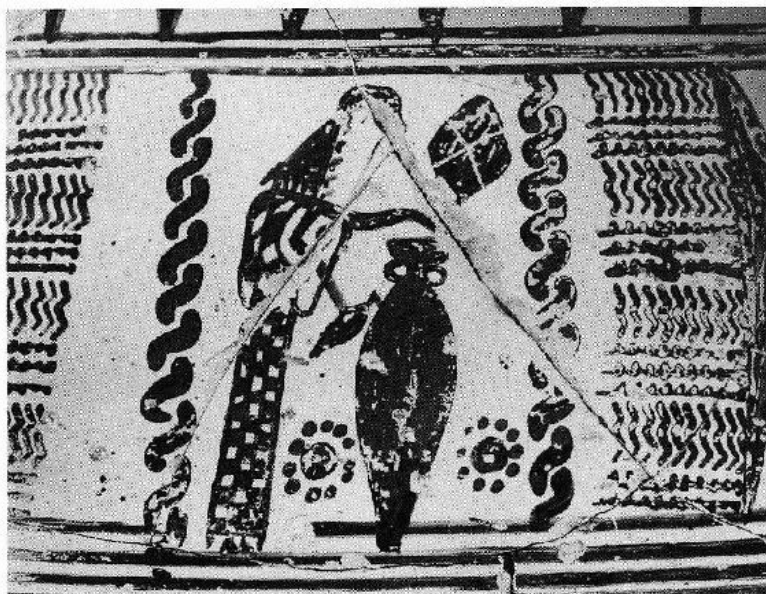


Fig. 3. Argos. Proto-Argeve krater C. 26611, detail of Side A. Courtesy J.-F. Bomme-laer and École française d'Athènes (neg. no. 41188).

To the right of the woman is a tall, standing pot of slender shape. It looks very much like an amphora with two handles at the narrow neck and a comparatively wide mouth. Its pointed lower end goes through the upper horizontal ground line and rests on the second one. In the field, there are two dot rosettes flanking the lower part of the amphora and, in front of the face of the figure, a four-sided blob with two crossing, incised lines. This is reminiscent of the rosettes used as filling ornaments in much later, Corinthian, vase-painting.

The female figure has its clear ancestors in Late Geometric vase-painting; however, whereas the women on those vases occur normally in rows, dancing or walking in a procession,

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this scene is an innovation: a single woman involved in a specific activity. Bommelaer identified the big pot as an amphora, the small one as an oinochoe.

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Since the amphora has such a narrow neck, one could not, in his opinion, have drawn a liquid from it; perhaps the woman is rather pouring a liquid into it, and we are reminded in a footnote of the Attic Geometric funerary kraters with the bottom pierced,

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generally thought to be meant to receive libations and funnel them into the tomb underneath. He ends his brief discussion of this problem stating (p. 245): "Il n'est donc pas impossible d'envisager l'hypothèse d'une libation que la destination même du cratère inviterait à considérer comme funéraire." It should be possible to go beyond this extremely cautious position and suggest a slightly different interpretation.

Without exaggerating the degree of realism intended or achieved by the vase painter, I think we can say a few things about the two pots depicted. The bigger one is clearly meant to be an amphora and, as Bommelaer points out, its appearance conforms fairly well to that of Late Geometric and early 7th century Argive amphorae.

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Also the depiction of its pointed end piercing the ground line seems to mean, as Bommelaer implies, that it is a funerary vase placed on

top of a grave as a monument. No example of this custom, so well known from Attica, has been attested in the Argolid; this need not worry us too much, however, since such an arrangement has a very slight chance of survival — the Dipylon cemetery was a lucky exception in more than one respect. It should also be stressed that Argive Geometric has produced quite a number of pots of Dipylon monumentality which might well have been used as grave markers.

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It should, however, be stressed that the pot depicted cannot be a pithos, because of the general shape and the existence of handles — pithoi of the early 7th century were ovoid or cylindrical and lacked handles.

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Seeing the degree of exactness in the depiction of the amphora, one may doubt that the smaller vase is correctly identified by Bommelaer as an oinochoe. With its slender shape and pointed bottom it would conform much better to a kind of alabastron, aryballos or possibly lekythos. Since it seems to have a handle, to judge from the small reserved spot (not commented upon by Bommelaer), perhaps an ovoid or piriform aryballos of Protocorinthian type might be the closest correlate to the picture. This, then, is a vase for oil, not for wine. To me, there is no indication that the small vase is being used for pouring *into* the amphora. If this is a libation, the liquid is poured onto the side of the amphora; consequently, if the liquid is oil, the action depicted may be that of anointing the amphora, *i.e.*, the grave monument. I cannot, however, understand the position of the other hand, which is held above the amphora. Maybe it is a symbolic gesture with a meaning beyond our possibility of understanding, maybe the lady is simply manipulating the lid of the amphora, as Bommelaer suggested.

9

The custom of anointing the grave monument, usually a stele, is well known from our literary sources. This was part of the rites performed regularly after the burial, perhaps on the third day (*ta trita*, unless Kurtz and Boardman

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are right in assuming that *ta trita* was the ceremony directly connected with the burial itself), later on the ninth day, *ta enata*, and

at the annual commemorative celebrations, *ta eniausia*. We have some descriptions of such ceremonies in tragedy, for instance in Aeschylus' *Choephoroi* (84-164), in Sophocles' *Electra* (284) and in Euripides' *Iphigenia Taurica* (159-166). The offerings to the dead are *choai*, pourings of milk, honey, wine, oil and water, even the blood of sacrificial animals; there are also the *enagismata*, food offerings, which were usually burnt, but obviously also eaten by those present. A relevant, although late, description of the *enagismata* is given by Lucian in his work *de Mercede Conductis* (28): "They pour unguent over the stele, set a wreath on it, and then they themselves enjoy the food and drink which has been prepared." The anointing of the stele is, as in this case, mentioned only in passing both by the ancient authors and by the writers of modern handbooks

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, and I have not found any thorough discussion of this as a phenomenon in its own right. Modern authors seem to assume that the stele is treated as a representative of the dead, or as the dead himself, and that this is the reason why the stele is washed, anointed and wound with fillets. For instance, Friis Johansen

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derives the treatment, even worship, of the stele, from "the conception that the dead is personally present in the tombstone, that it is the resort of his soul, its *hedos*, as the cult image is that of the god." In our case we have an amphora as a grave marker, not a stele, which is being anointed.

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Could it be that even a monument of this kind could be considered a personification of the dead and that it could be made the object of the same treatment? Or is it only the stone marker, originally a kind of menhir with its primitive symbolism, that was capable of such representation? Although I hesitate to present such a wild idea, I feel that this interpretation cannot be rejected *a priori*, but should be scrutinized carefully in the light of our knowledge of early Greek ideas and concepts.

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Finally, I wish to draw attention to some later depictions that may be thought to represent the same rite of anointing a grave marker. In the many pictures on Athenian white lekythoi of the 5th century, there are of course innumerable instances of lekythoi standing in

rows on the steps of a grave monument;

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they certainly hint at the use of oil in the funerary cult, either for libations or for the anointing of the stele, or both. In some cases, however, a small oil vase, usually an alabastron, is brought to the monument or held against the stele in a way reminiscent of our Argive scene. The first example is on a lekythos in Oxford, painted by the Achilles Painter;

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the woman bringing the alabastron holds a vase probably to be called *plemochoe* in her other hand. The second is on a vase in London;

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here the alabastron is held closer to the upper edge of the stele. A similar position of the alabastron is shown on a lekythos in Paris.

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The final example is less certain. The woman to the left on a lekythos in Madrid

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holds something in her hand very close to the upper edge of the stele. This has been interpreted as “perhaps a rolled ribbon”, while the woman to the right holds what is definitely a ribbon, which she will tie around the stele. I suggest this may be another alabastron being used for the anointing of the monument. However, it should be noted that in none of all these cases is there an attempt to depict the oil coming out of the vase.

11

Does this mean that, as in many other cases, the artist has chosen to depict the ritual not at its climax, but in the moment immediately preceding the main action?

Notes

1 P Courbin, “Un fragment de cratère protoargien”, *BCH* 79 (1955) 1-49; J.-F. Bommelaer, “Nouveaux documents de céramique protoargienne”, *BCH* 96 (1972) 229-251; R. M. Cook, *Greek painted pottery*, London 1972, 92-93.

2 Courbin 1955 (*supra* n. 1); for the Eleusis amphora see G.E. Mylonas, Ὁ πρωτοαττικὸς ἀμφορεὺς τῆς Ἐλευσίνος, Athens 1957.

3 Bommelaer (*supra* n. 1).

4 Bommelaer (*supra* n. 1), 229-246.

5 J.-F. Bommelaer & Y. Grandjean, "Argos. I: Secteur δ, A; Place de Kypséli", *BCH* 95 (1971) 736-745; J.-F. Bommelaer, "Recherches dans le Quartier Sud d'Argos", *BCH* 96 (1972) 155-228.

6 Bommelaer (*supra* n. 1), 240-244.

7 R. Tölle, *Frühgriechische Reigentänze*, Waldsassen 1964, esp. Pis. 5-6, 12, 18, 23-24.

8 Bommelaer (*supra* η. 1), 245.

9 Bommelaer (*supra* η. 1), 245, n. 37; D. C. Kurtz and J. Boardman, *Greek burial customs*, London 1971, 57-58 (with alternative explanation).

10 Bommelaer (*supra* η. 1), 245; P. Courbin, *La céramique géométrique de l'Argolide*, Paris 1966, Pis. 5-6.

11 Examples in Courbin (*supra* n. 10), Pls. 43 and 100. Other specimens, unpublished, on display in the Argos Museum.

12 See, e.g., illustrations in Bommelaer (*supra* n. 1), Figs. 1-2 (ovoid), and R. Hägg, *Die Gräber der Argolis in submykenischer, protogeometrischer und geometrischer Zeit 1: Lage und Form der Gräber* (Boreas, 7:1), Uppsala 1974, 145, Abb. 40-41 (cylindrical).

13 Kurtz and Boardman (*supra* n. 9), 145-146.

14 R. Garland, *The Greek way of death*, Ithaca & New York 1985: although the word 'anointing' does not occur in the general index, its importance is mentioned in passing: "There can be little doubt that although the wreathing, be-ribboning and anointing of the *stêlê* formed a major part in the rites, the tomb feast..." (p. 110); "In the eyes of an Athenian, a *stêlê* was much more than a monument erected to preserve the memory of the dead. Oiled, perfumed, decorated, crowned and fed, it was a focus of devotion and an object of adoration" (p. 119).

Grave stelai were sometimes washed with water, see Plut., *Aristides* 21 (the grave markers from the battle of Plataea); cf. W Burkert, *Homo Necans. The anthropology of ancient Greek sacrificial ritual and myth*, Berkeley 1983, 56-58. I thank Joe Day for these references.

15 K. Friis Johansen, *The Attic grave-reliefs of the Classical period. An essay in interpretation*, Copenhagen 1951, 69.

16 On the Late Geometric graves in the Kerameikos cemetery, the monumental vases occurred together with stelai, not as the sole grave markers.

17 D. C. Kurtz, *Athenian white lekythoi. Patterns and painters*, Oxford 1975, *passim*.

18 Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, 545 (1896.41): Kurtz (*supra* n. 17), 214 with PL 36.2.

19 London, British Museum, D 65: Kurtz (*supra* n. 17), 202 with PL 18.3.

20 Paris, Musée du Louvre, CA537: Kurtz (*supra* n. 17), 223 with PL 50.1.

21 Madrid, Museo Arqueológico Nacional, 19 497: Kurtz (*supra* n. 17), 202-203 with PL 19.1.

The Sacred Herd of Artemis at Lusoi

*

Ulrich Sinn

1

The ancient town of Lusoi with its Artemis sanctuary was situated on the western slope of Mount Aroania about 40 kilometres from the Corinthian Gulf (Fig. 1).

1

The district was particularly hard hit in 240 B.C. when the Aitolians swarmed through the northern Peloponnesos, plundering as they went

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. After they had laid waste to Kynaitha their next goal was the town Kleitor. Interestingly enough the Aitolians did not take the direct route south to Kleitor, but instead chose the difficult route over the mountains of Lusoi. The highland plain of Lusoi (Fig. 2), 1 000 m above sea level, with the surrounding slopes has always been valued for its good pasturage.

2

When the Aitolian arrived at this plain, they did not molest the town itself but went straight to the sanctuary of Artemis. Polybios gives a detailed account of what happened there: "On arriving at the sanctuary of Artemis which lies between Kleitor and Kynaitha, and is regarded as inviolable by the Greeks, they threatened to seize animals belonging to the goddess and plunder the other property about the temple. But the people of Lusoi very wisely induced them to refrain from their impious purpose and commit no serious outrage by giving them some of the sacred furniture. On receiving this they at once left

the place and encamped before Kleitor.”

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3

After the Aitolians had failed to storm the city wall of Kleitor, they went off- and vented their rage at being frustrated on the sanctuary at Lusoi where, in spite of the fact that they had already settled for a fixed recompense, they now drove off the animals belonging to the goddess after all.

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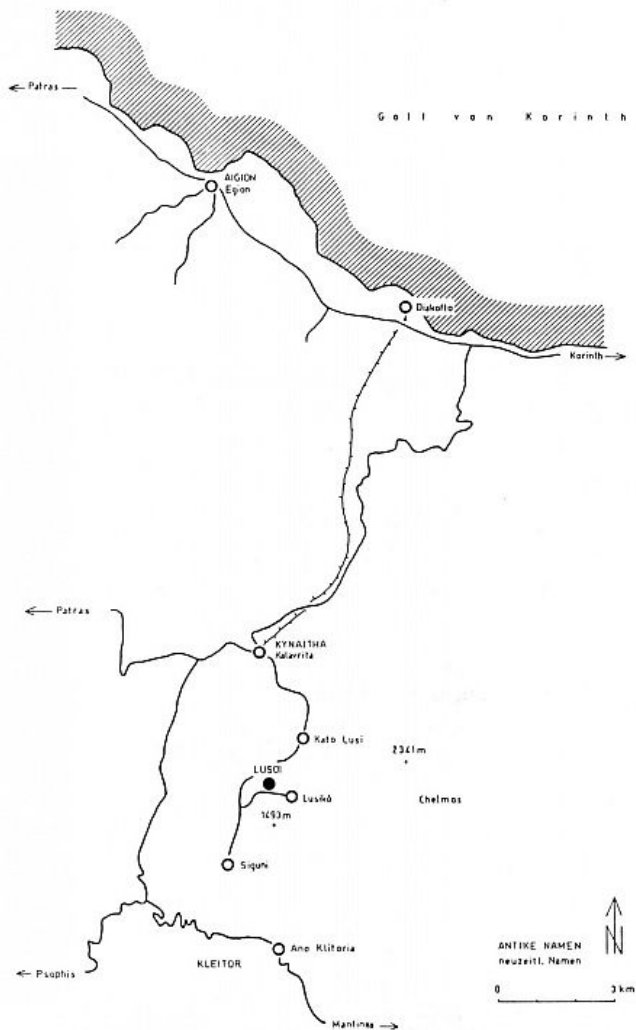


Fig. 1. The position of Lusoi in northern Arcadia.



Fig. 2. The highland plain of Lusoi with the sanctuary on the northern slopes of Profitis Elias (1 489 m).

4

This event still aroused strong feelings among the Greeks after decades. In any case Polybios reports two political assemblies of the Greeks towards the end of the 3rd century B.C. where the theft of the “Sacred Herd” from Artemis’ sanctuary at Lusoi is described as the kind of crime that only godless barbarians such as the Aitolians would commit.

5

5

For a long time scholars have been speculating about the nature of the herd and its role in the cult of Artemis’ sanctuary. In the context of Polybios’ statement, to the effect that the animals belonged to the goddess (θρέμματα της θεοῦ) it was natural to conclude that the animals were kept in an enclosure inside the sanctuary as living votive offerings, so to speak, and therefore must have been linked to the cult there.

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This idea received welcome confirmation when, during excavations in Lusoi at the turn of the century, votives were found which would be associated with the existence of a “Sacred Herd” in the sanctuary: for example a small bronze deer (Fig. 3),

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stylized antlers also of sheet bronze,

many real antlers and several boar's teeth and bear's teeth belong to this category of finds.

Iconographical analysis of these finds seemed to pave the way to interpreting the extraordinary significance of the "Sacred Herd" in the sanctuary of Artemis at Lusoi.

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Adolf Wilhelm and Wilhelm Reichel, the excavators, believed they could demonstrate that the very form of the cult statue was affected by the existence of animals in the sanctuary. Although the cult statue itself is, of course, not preserved, two statuettes have been found which have been recognized as reflections of the cult statue. One of them is a bronze, now in Frankfurt (Fig. 4).

The other is a terracotta figure (Fig. 5).

P. Bol has recently shown – convincingly in my view – that the bronze figure, dated to about 500 B.C., may well be a small-scale copy of the cult statue created in the 7th century B.C. Otherwise it would be very difficult to explain the unusually faithful rendering of the daedalic epiblema around the shoulders of the figure which in all other respects bears the hallmarks of the Late Archaic style.



Fig. 3. Lusoï, Sanctuary of Artemis. Statuette of a deer. Bronze, H. c. 6.8 cm. Formerly Berlin, Staatliche Museen (lost during the war).

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Unfortunately the Late Archaic small-scale version provides us with no information about the attributes of the cult statue. The left hand is broken off, the right hand is now empty. The consensus, however, is that in any case the figure must have held an object of considerable size because of the powerful arm and the strikingly large hand.

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Reichel and Wilhelm also followed the same lines. In this connexion they refer to the terracotta figurine (Fig. 5) which they also regarded as an iconographical allusion to the cult statue. Accordingly, they transferred the attributes of this figure –a bow in the left hand, a deer in the right –to the bronze figure and thence to the cult statue. The powerful arm and the large hand of the bronze figure seemed to them to be ideally suited for an attribute the size of a deer.

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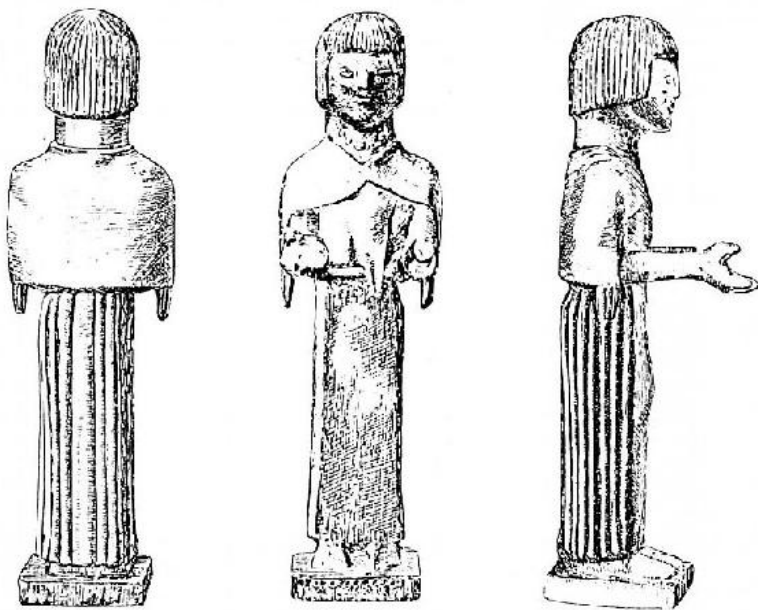


Fig. 4. Lusoi, Sanctuary of Artemis. Statuette of Artemis. Bronze, H. 13.2 cm. Frankfurt, Liebieghaus. Inv. no. 436.

8

The iconography of the cult statue inferred in this manner was thought to constitute proof that the worship of the goddess as the Mistress of Animals was the essential element of the cult in the Lusoi Artemis sanctuary. The farmers and hunters of Lusoi in the Arcadian mountain ranges sacrificed to Artemis so that she would bring good luck in hunting and, at the same time, ward off dangers threatened by beasts of prey dwelling in the mountains.

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It is to be taken for granted that this aspect would have played an important role in a sanctuary located in this area. Votives such as the well-known statuette of Pan in Berlin

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or the animals mentioned earlier provide further eloquent testimony. But the idea that this aspect predominated to such a degree that it affected the form of the cult statue is derived merely from an iconographical analysis of the votive offerings. Not only that. The scholars deduced also the character of the animal herds mentioned only in a general way by Polybios solely from their assessments of the

iconography of the votives: according to Reichel, Wilhelm and others the herd in question is an enclosure with wild animals, just as they thrive in the wilds for the benefit of hunters under the protection of Artemis.

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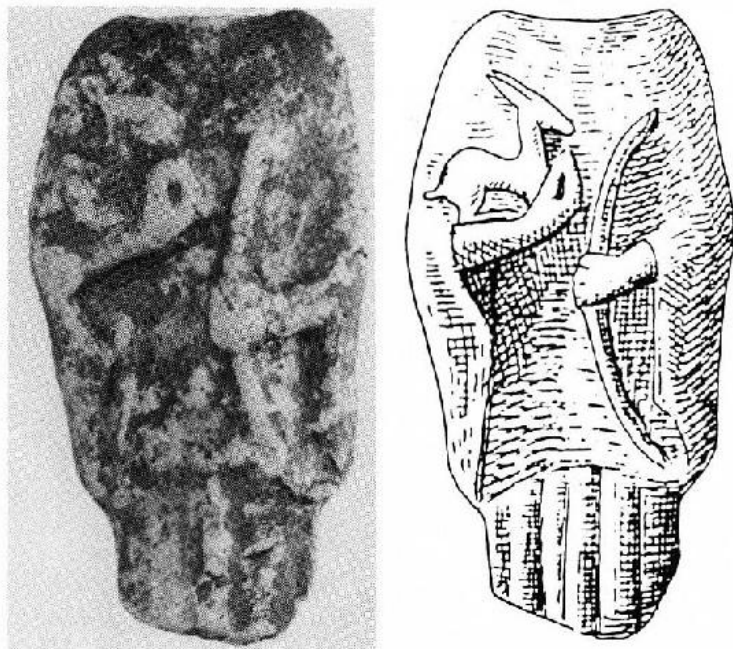


Fig. 5. Lusoi, Sanctuary of Artemis. Statuette of Artemis. Terracotta, H. 7.7 cm. Athens, National Museum Inv. no. II. 19864.

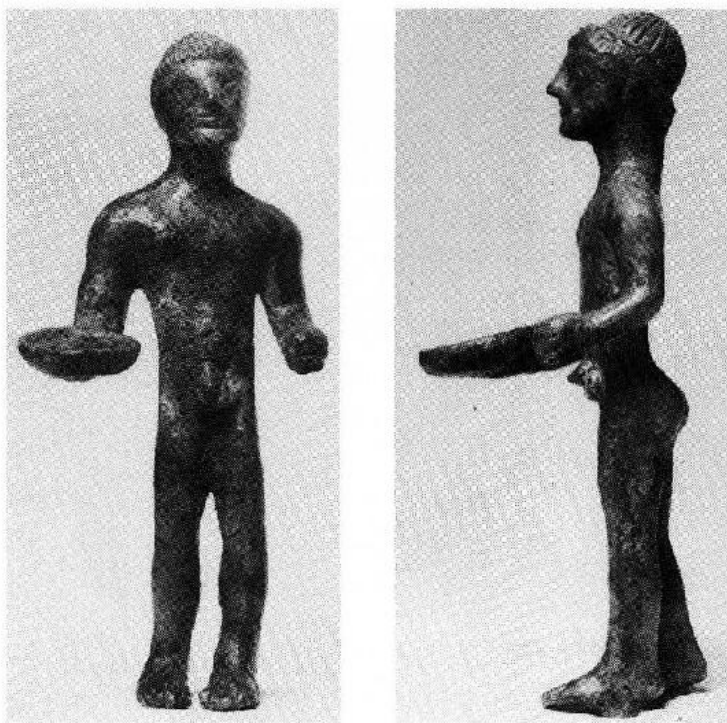
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Interpreting the iconography of votives in a sanctuary is no easy matter. The process of selecting the votives believed to provide decisive evidence is fraught with inherent dangers. In our case it would be natural to attach special importance to the terracotta figure holding a deer (Fig. 5), since the motif of the deer is also attested among the bronze votives. And yet one should not overestimate the value of the terracotta figure for providing information about the cult in the Artemis sanctuary at Lusoi: the figure is mould-made of a type which is widespread throughout Greece.

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Therefore we have no right to consider the terracotta figurine as a means of diagnosing local cult practice. Consequently the terracotta figurine proves useless as a guide to restoring the attributes of the

bronze figure (Fig. 4).



Figs. 6a-b. Olympia. Statuette of a sacrificing man. Bronze, H. 8.3 cm. Olympia, Archaeological Museum Inv. B. 11560 (found in 1986).

11

The bronze figure itself offers only one indirect indication for restoring a deer, which depends on the argument that the disproportionately large hand must have held a large attribute. But this argument is not plausible because it overlooks an iconographical peculiarity of small Greek bronzes. Just as the head, as being the essential element, is, as a rule, made disproportionately large in small-scale figures, so too the characteristic attributes and, consequently, the hands and arms supporting these attributes are necessarily made oversized. A good example of this phenomenon is the statuette recently found in Olympia (Fig. 6) who is holding nothing more than a libation bowl in the oversized hand.

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Thus the large hand of our bronze figure (Fig. 4) by no means

necessarily indicates a large attribute; rather it is a creative means of making the great importance of the attribute visible. Like the new bronze figure from Olympia (Fig. 6), the statuette from Lusoi could have held a libation bowl. This is all the more likely in view of the slightly tilted palm and the position of the thumb which is not beside the other fingers but is held out above the cupped hand.

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The cult statue of Artemis at Lusoi is at least hardly apt to have been a representation of the Mistress of Animals.

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This is in any case highly improbable since, to judge by the votives in their entirety, the goddess was worshipped as Kourotophos. The great mass of women's jewellery dedicated here,

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the furled sheet bronze for hair-offerings

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and a – badly battered – marble statue of a squatting boy (Fig. 7)

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transmit a clear iconographical message.

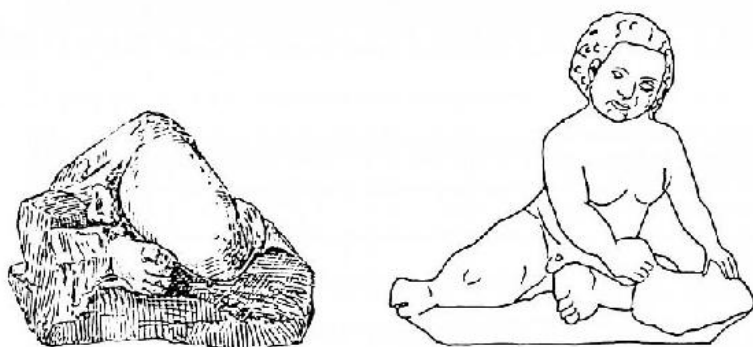


Fig. 7. Marble statuettes of sitting boys. Left: Fragment from the Artemis Sanctuary at Lusoi. The boy was leaning to his right. Athens, National Museum. Right: Statuette from Imeron. The boy is leaning to his left. Kavalla, Archaeological Museum Inv. L 80.

14

In this context it seems to me to be a questionable procedure to use the iconography of the votive offerings in order to determine the role of the animals in the Artemis cult of Lusoi mentioned by Polybios.

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If in this case one abandons preconceptions about the votive offerings and takes a look instead at other Greek sanctuaries, parallels open up

that are, in my view, better able to account for the presence of animals in the Artemis sanctuary at Lusoi mentioned by Polybios.

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Something very similar to what Polybios reports about Lusoi had earlier occurred in another Greek sanctuary, *i.e.*, in the Heraion at Perachora. Xenophon reports that during the war between Corinth and Sparta at the beginning of the 4th century B.C., the landowners in the Corinthian Peraia had, at the approach of the enemy, driven their flocks into the sanctuary of Hera to protect them from plundering soldiers. Xenophon's description makes it clear that the owners availed themselves of the right of asylum in the sanctuary to which they had fled, not only for themselves but also for their animals.

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Protected by the sanctuary both man and beast were safe from a direct attack by the plunderers. This way of seeking refuge in the Heraion at Perachora proved to be reliable in times of war. And as we may gather from Polybios' description the same system for protection functioned in Lusoi at least during the first invasion of the Aitolians. The Aitolians threaten to carry off the animals, but in the end they respect the protection afforded by the sanctuary. By paying ransom from the temple treasury the inhabitants of Lusoi suffer a financial loss, but manage to avoid the incomparably greater catastrophe of being robbed of their herds, thus deprived of their means of existence.

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It is hardly mere chance that Polybios explicitly refers to the right of asylum in the sanctuary of Lusoi in the passage cited above (“ἄσυλον δὲ νενόμισται. παρά τοῖς “Ελλῆσιν” = regarded as inviolable by the Greeks). The explicit statement that the animals “belong to the goddess” (“θρέμματα τῆς θεοῦ”)

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also point in the direction of rights of asylum, since according to Greek Sacred Law every suppliant is a *possession of the divinity* during the stay in the sanctuary. Thus Euripides says of Kreousa seeking refuge in the sanctuary of Apollon “ἱερὸν τὸ σῶμα τῷ θεῷ” = “I commit my person to the god to keep inviolate”.

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This is not the place to expatiate on the function of Greek sanctuaries as places of refuge.

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I must confine myself to saying that Polybios' mention of a "Sacred Herd" informs us about this essential aspect of the cult of Artemis at Lusoï. Here we are driven to acknowledge the fact that this important function of the sanctuary is obviously not reflected in the iconography of the votive offerings. And indeed in general in the votive offerings of Greek sanctuaries there seems to have been no iconographical formula whatsoever for conveying the right of asylum in Greek sanctuaries.

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It is by no means my intention here to argue against making use of evidence provided by the iconography of votive offerings. Quite the contrary: just because iconography is so indispensable for deducing the cult practices of a sanctuary, one should be alert to potential dangers of the method. One of the dangers consists of thoughtlessly regarding archaeological finds as mere illustrations of the written texts, simply because combining them fits into a stereotyped mental framework, *e.g.*, as Potnia Theron Artemis has an enclosure of wild animals in her sanctuary. In this particular case the true character of the Artemis cult at Lusoï is to be more fully understood by not mixing up two sources of information: on the one hand learning from the iconography of the votives that the goddess was worshipped as *kourotrophos* and the guardian divinity of hunting. On the other hand treating the written testimonia as an *independent* source, thus recognizing a further aspect of the cult: that this sanctuary offered the inhabitants living around it the possibility of driving their precious flocks into the wided spaced sanctuary

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in times of war and placing them under the protection of the goddess as "sacred Herds".

Notes

1 Under the leadership of V. Mitsopoulou-Leon the Austrian Archaeological Institute at Athens carries out new excavations since 1980; regular reports in *ÖJh* since 1981/82.

A summary of the history of the town and its sanctuary is given by W. Reichel and A. Wilhelm, "Das Heiligtum der Artemis zu Lusoi", *ÖJh* 4 (1901) 1–89 (hereafter Lusoi 1901); F. Bölte, "Lusoi", *RE* XIII 2 (1927) cols. 1890–1899 (hereafter Lusoi 1927); U. Sinn, "Ein Fundkomplex aus dem Artemis-Heiligtum von Lusoi im Badischen Landesmuseum", *Jahrbuch der Staatlichen Kunstsammlungen in Baden-Württemberg* 17 (1980) 25–40 (hereafter Lusoi 1980); V Mitsopoulou-Leon, "Lusoi. Ergebnisse neuer Forschungen", *ÖJh* 56 (1984/85) (Hauptblatt) 93–98; M. Jost, *Sanctuaires et cultes d'Arcadie*, Paris 1985, 47–51.

2 Polybios IV.17–21.

3 Polybios IV.18.10–12.

4 Polybios IV.19, 4.

5 1) In 220 B.C. at Corinth: F. W. Walbank, *A historical commentary on Polybios I*, Oxford 1957, 483 (hereafter Walbank); and *idem*, *Philipp V of Macedon*, Cambridge 1967, 24ff.

2) In 211/10 B.C. at Sparta: B. Niese, *Geschichte der griechischen und makedonischen Staaten II*, Gotha 1899, 482; M. Gelzer, "Die hellenische προκαχασκευή im zweiten Buch des Polybios", *Hermes* 75 (1940) 27–37.

6 Lusoi 1901, 2; H. Hitzig and H. Blümner, *Des Pausanias Beschreibung von Griechenland III* 1, Leipzig 1907, 176. "Der Tempel war von einem Hain umgeben, in dem der Göttin heilige Tiere (wohl vornehmlich Hirsche und Rehe) gehalten wurden."; Lusoi 1927, 1898; Walbank, 465; A. Mauersberger, *Polybios-Lexikon* 13, Berlin 1966, s.v. θρέμμα = "(heilige) Herde"; R. Stiglitz, *Die Großen Göttinnen Arkadiens* (Sonderschriften des ÖAI, 15) Wien 1967, 10–11: "Herden der Göttin, die sich beim Tempel (in Gehegen) aufhielten"; Lusoi 1980, 36–37.

7 This figurine belonged to a collection of 79 objects bought by the Königliches Museum Berlin at the same time when the museum at Karlsruhe acquired the complex of Lusoi-bronzes. With the exception of 8 pieces the Lusoi-collection at Berlin was to be lost during the second world war. There exist only the notes in the inventory book and some negatives in a bad condition: Lusoi 1980, 26–27.

8 Lusoi 1901, 57–58 Fig. 115.

9 Lusoi 1901, 37.

10 Frankfurt, Liebieghaus Inv. No. 436. – P. C. Bol, *Liebieghaus, Museum Alter Plastik. Führer durch die Sammlungen. Antike Kunst*, Frankfurt a.M. 1980, 31–32 Fig. 34; *LIMC II*, Zürich & München 1984, 'Artemis Nr. 104'.

11 Lusoi 1901, 37 Fig. 25.

12 P. C. Bol, "Die „Artemis von Lusoi". Eine klassische Wiedergabe eines frühgriechischen Kultbildes", in: *Kanon. Festschrift E. Berger* (AntK-BH 15), Basel 1988, 76–80.

13 F. Eckstein, *Antike Kleinkunst im Liebhabersaal*, Frankfurt a. M. 1969, Nr. 7/8: "Es war ohne Frage ein größerer und gewichtiger Gegenstand, den die beiden nach oben geöffneten Hölde darreichten."

14 Lusoi 1901, 37.

15 Berlin, Antikenmuseum, Inv. No. Misc 8624. Lusoi 1980, 36 Fig. 14; *Die Meisterwerke aus dem Antikenmuseum Berlin* (1980), Nr. 21 (U. Gehrig).

16 Above note 6.

17 The type, with its variations and distribution in Greece, is documented by L. Kahil, in: *LIMC II*, Zürich & München 1984, 'Artemis Nr. 578-589'.

18 Olympia, Archaeological Museum. Inv. B 11560, found 1986 in the region of the Prytaneion. This figure clearly shows that the degree of outsize proportions is also, as to be expected, dependent on the artistic quality of a figure.

19 The type of Artemis with a bow in the left hand and a phiale in the right hand is well known: *LIMC II*, Zürich & München 1984, 'Artemis Nr. 966-994'. It is known also from the iconography of cult images: ditto Nr. 1391. In general E. Simon, *Opfernde Götter*, Berlin 1953.

20 Lusoi 1901, 51-55. A full catalogue of the hundreds of pieces will soon be given by the author.

21 U. Sinn, "Der Kult der Aphaia auf Aigina", in: *Early Greek cult practice. Proceedings of the Fifth International Symposium at the Swedish Institute at Athens, 26-29 June, 1986* (Skrifter utgivna av Svenska Institutet i Athen, 4°, 38), Stockholm 1988, 158 Fig. 14.

22 Lusoi 1901, 47 Fig. 59. For the type: Chr. Vorster, *Griechische Kinderstatuen*, Köln 1983, 189-211; especially p. 200 Nr. 139 Taf. 9, 1 (= here Fig. 7, right); for the meaning of these figures: pp. 48-88.

23 Xenophon, *Hellenika* IV.5. An abundant discussion of this event is given by the author in "Das Heraion von Perachora. Eine sakrale Schutzzone in der korinthischen Peraia", *AM* 105 (1990) 53-116 (hereafter Sinn, Perachora).

24 Polybios IV.18, 10; IV.19, 4.

25 Euripides, *Ion* 1285.

26 Sinn, Perachora; *idem*, "La funzione dell'Heraion di Perachora nelle Peraia Corinzia", in: *Incontri perugini di storiografia antica e sul mondo antico* 4 (*Acquasparta* 29.5. -1.6.1989), Roma and Bari 1991, 209ff.; and *idem*, *Die griechischen Heiligtümer. Funktion - Organisation - Topographie* (in preparation).

27 It is not impossible that the bronze figurine of a sheep with the dedicatory inscription Pesidos ikesia is the votive of a man, who had served his animals by bringing them in a sanctuary. De Ridder, *Bronzes trouvés sur l'Acropole d'Athènes*, Paris 1896, 192-193 Nr. 529 Fig. 172; *IG I²* Nr. 434; WH. Rouse, *Greek votive offerings*, Cambridge 1902, 296. (I thank J. Day for this indication.)

28 The question of space in the Greek sanctuaries is discussed in Sinn, Perachora; and *idem*, "Sunion. Das befestigte Heiligtum der Athena und des Poseidon an der „Heiligen Landspitze Attikas"", *Antike Welt* 1992 (in print).

Endnotes

* I wish to express my gratitude to J. Binder for translating the manuscript.
Acknowledgements. Figs. 1-2 by the author; Figs. 4, 5, 7 (r) after ÖJh; Fig. 3 Staatliche Museen Berlin (R. Zahn 1887); Fig. 6 DAI Athen Neg. Inv. 90/2050.2052 (E. Gehnen); Fig. 7 (1) Chr. Vorster.

On Pan's Iconography and the Cult in the Sanctuary of Pan on the Slopes of Mount Lykaion

★

Ulrich Hübinger

“... πάντα πλήρη θεῶν...”
(Thales, fr. 11 A 22 Diels)

1

Ancient writers unanimously report that Pan was originally a local god from Arcadia. The official installation of his cult at Athens in 490 B.C. is a fixed date rare in the history of Greek religion. During the battle of Marathon the god was believed to have caused panic among the enemy's soldiers. This led to the splendid victory of the Athenians.

1

It is possible that a few years before this event the foreign divinity had already become a subject of interest to Attic vase-painters. One of two fragments from the rim of a black-figured volute-krater shows Pan playing the double-flute at a divine banquet. He stands next to Hermes, who relaxes on a kline looking over his shoulder, perhaps in the direction of Dionysos who rests comfortably on another kline depicted on the second fragment. The powers of the latter god are represented by two satyrs and a maenad, eager to please the dining company, moving their bodies to the music of Pan. To characterize the Arcadian god the painter made use of a monstrous combination of animal and human elements (Figs. 1-3).

2

2

Does Pan's strange goatish appearance on Attic vases from Late

Archaic and Early Classical times reflect earlier iconographical traditions from Arcadia? Did the ancients picture him in the beginning simply as a goat, which revealed its divine status by walking on its hind legs like a human being? Are connections even to be suspected with animal worship in the Mycenaean age?

3



Fig. 1. Fragment of a volute krater, Allard Pierson Museum Amsterdam, Nos. 2117. Photo: Courtesy of the Museum.

3

Arcadia, the reported homeland of Pan, is the region to turn to when looking for archaeological evidence of this god's origins.

4

In the first years of this century a considerable number of sensational bronze statuettes appeared on the art market. They were said to have been found by peasants in the Lykaion mountains near Andritsaina in southwestern Arcadia.

4

Three of these statuettes were acquired by the Greek National Museum at Athens. One of them represents Hermes wearing winged boots, a short chiton and a pointed hat curiously decorated on top by a bunch of feathers. He carries a ram under his left arm (Figs. 4–6). The second statuette depicts a naked youth who may once have held a bow in his left hand while pouring a libation with his right hand from a phiale which has now been lost (Figs. 7–8). The third statuette is of rather crude workmanship in comparison with the other two; it

is dressed in the same manner as the statuette of Hermes, and in the original publication was thought to be either “Hermes Nomios” or a true Arcadian peasant.

5



Fig. 2. Fragment of a volute krater, Allard Pierson Museum Amsterdam, Nos. 2118. Photo: Courtesy of the Museum.

5

The Greek Archaeological Society found out that these bronzes all came from a certain spot on the south slopes of Mount Lykaion. In 1902 Konstantinos Kourouniotis excavated a part of the site, situated between the villages Haghios Sostes and Berekla (now named Neda), next to the springs of the river bearing the same name.

6

In the area surrounding the ruined chapel of Haghios Strategos (Aistratigos) Kourouniotis found meagre remains of ancient buildings, blocks of which had been reused both for the construction of the chapel and for a number of graves, dated by the excavator to the period of the Frankish occupation of the Peloponnese. He also reported two ancient cisterns in the vicinity constructed of huge limestone blocks.

7

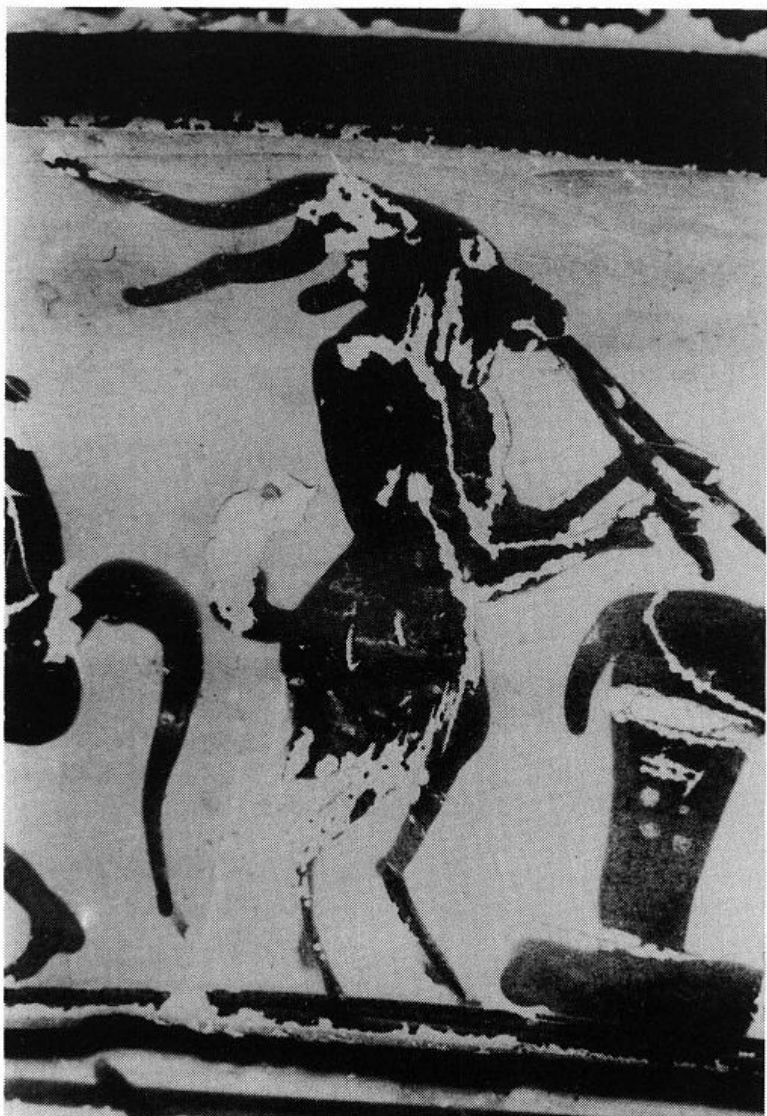
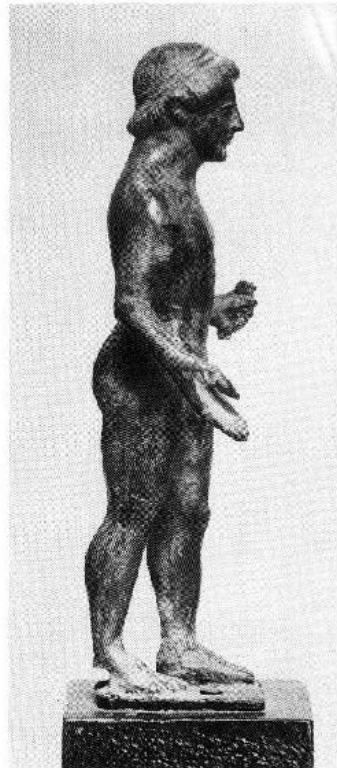
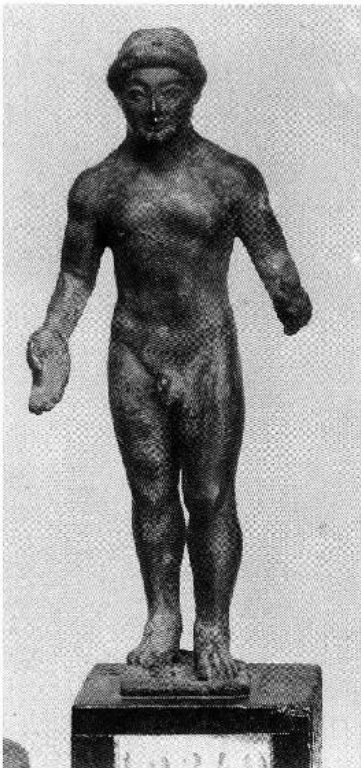


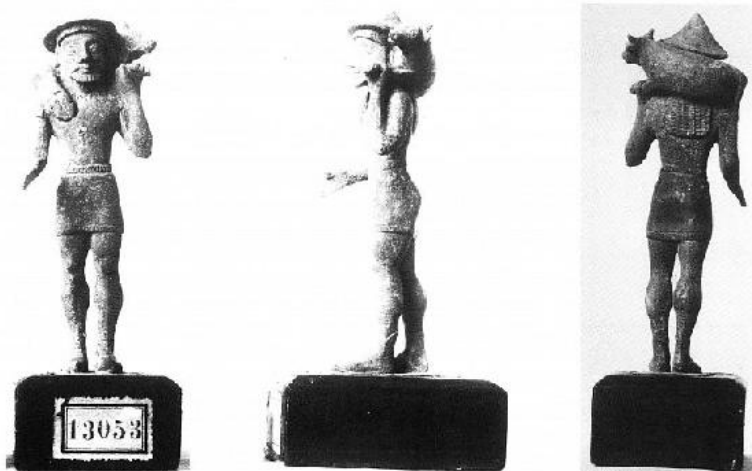
Fig. 3-Fragment of a volute krater, Allard Pierson Museum Amsterdam, Nos. 2117. Photo: Courtesy of the Museum.



Figs. 4-6. Bronze statuette of Hermes, National Museum Athens, No. 12347. Photos: German Archaeological Institute at Athens, Neg. Nos. Nat. Mus. 2129-31.



Figs. 7-8. Bronze statuette of a youth (Apollo?), National Museum Athens, No. 12349. Photos: German Archaeological Institute at Athens, Neg. Nos. Nat. Mus. 4004, 4008.



Figs. 9-11. Bronze statuette of a man carrying a calf on his shoulders, National Museum Athens, No. 13053. Photos: German Archaeological Institute at Athens, Neg. Nos. Nat. Mus. 2129-30, 2132.

6 Behind a terrace wall he excavated a dumped fill consisting of ashes and bones from sacrifices and a considerable number of Late Archaic to Early Classical votive gifts. Two inscriptions naming Pan, the one on a small marble base, the other on a sixth-century (?) potsherd, led Kourouniotis to label the site as a sanctuary belonging to this god.

8

7 Little of the excavated material has so far been published. A survey of this, including the many bronzes which belong to the same complex, but have been scattered by antique dealers into museums and private collections all over the world, may allow us to find out more about both the roots of the Arcadian god Pan, as well as the character and meaning of this cult-place. Various reports, notes and illustrations enable us to reconstruct an amazing votive inventory. We are introduced to the visitors of the sanctuary, to the gods they worshipped, and to the offerings they dedicated to them.

9

8 Representations of women and female votive gifts seem to be rare.

10

The majority of the figurines depict male dedicators. Two groups of them can be distinguished. First, there are a number of bearded

adults, either wrapped up in cloaks or clad in short chitons. Some of them also appear almost entirely nude. All wear a conical or pointed hat, the *κυνέη* or *πίλος*.

11

Some carry gifts for the gods, such as a calf (Figs. 9-11), a ram, a dead fox or a bird. One man offers a syrinx. Others appear without gifts, their hands covered by their cloaks. Such representations have also been found in terracotta (Fig. 12).

12

9

The most famous of these statuettes bear votive inscriptions to Pan. The offerings of Phauleas and Aineas, the latter dedicating a ram and a jug with unknown ingredients, are probably part of the group of statuettes found on the site by local peasants before the official excavation.

13

Together with the inscribed potsherd mentioned above

14

they are the earliest known documents relating to Pan, dating roughly to the last third of the sixth century B.C. At least some decades before his career in Athens the god received ritual honours in Arcadia. The archaeological evidence corroborates the literary tradition.



Fig. 12. Terracotta relief of a man hunting a boar with a dog, National Museum Athens, No. 13087. Photo: German Archaeological Institute at Athens, Neg. No. Nat. Mus. 3114.



Figs. 13-14. Bronze statuette of a youth holding a ram, once on the Athens art market. Photos: German Archaeological Institute at Athens, Neg. Nos. Ath. Var. 963-64.

10

The second group of votive statuettes depicts beardless youths, more or less in the same costume as their older counterparts.

15

One of them wears a wreath on his head and holds a cockerel; a similar figure, said to be from Megalopolis, possibly also belongs to the complex. Several of them offer either a ram (Figs. 13-14) or a vessel containing fruit. Others are shown in martial posture reminiscent of Herakles or Zeus.

16

Further finds of “human figures and some animals” in the shape of

cut-out sheet bronze silhouettes have been reported by Kourouniotis, however, without any detailed description.

17

11

Pan was probably not the only god who received votives in the sanctuary. The elaborate statuette of Hermes Kriophoros (Figs. 4-6) possibly represents the second divinity worshipped on the site.

18

Seven other statuettes are closely related. Only two of them are known with certainty to have come from the site. The provenance of the other five examples is unclear owing to the dubious information given by dealers.

19

Some of these statuettes do not have the winged boots.

20

Thus, it is not possible to decide definitely whether they are meant to represent Hermes or a votary. The typological resemblance to the other statuettes of Hermes suggests that these also represent the god. Furthermore, a bronze herm found at the site reinforces the suggestion that Hermes was worshipped there.

21

12

A third divinity may also have been worshipped in the sanctuary. One of the statuettes from the site depicting a youth holding a bow can perhaps be identified as Apollo. Among the youths referred to above there may have been some who also once held a bow (Figs. 7-8). These statuettes, like some of the kriophoroi mentioned above, pose iconographical problems as yet unsolved. It cannot be stated with certainty which of them represents a mortal and which is meant to be understood as a god. And, since there are no votive inscriptions except the ones naming Pan, even the recipients of the dedications remain uncertain.

22



Fig. 15. Bronze lamp with handle shaped as a triton, Staatliche Museen Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Antikenmuseum Berlin, No. Misc. 10787. Photo: Ingrid Geske.

13

One of these bronze statuettes must originally have been mounted on a small marble pillar found during the excavation of Kourouniotis.

23

Further terracotta figurines representing “gods” have been reported by the excavator; there is no more information on these available at present.

24

Last but not least, an outstanding object from the site must be mentioned, a rare Archaic bronze lamp of a type known from Corinth, with a handle in the shape of a triton (Fig. 15).

25

14

To return to the worshippers: Who were these people and which was the cult they practised? Because of their seemingly rustic dress and attributes they have always been regarded as representations of the simple inhabitants of rough Arcadia, humble shepherds offering touchingly natural gifts from their property to their old-fashioned rural god Pan, with a prayer for protection of their flocks;

26

the rams carried by some of them should not, however, be understood as attributes characterizing their bearers as shepherds. Rather, they are simply the appropriate animals to be sacrificed to at

least one of the gods in the sanctuary. Hermes himself is represented exemplarily holding the sacrificial animal.

27

15

There may well have been men among these worshippers, who were involved in the business of pastoral agriculture. One of the statuettes from the site is indeed very similar to a shepherd depicted on a kyathos by Theozotos. Moreover, although there are several other vase-paintings, which show that the characteristic head-dress of Greek shepherds in antiquity was in fact the conical or pointed hat, the *πίλος*, yet these hats also characterize hunters.

28

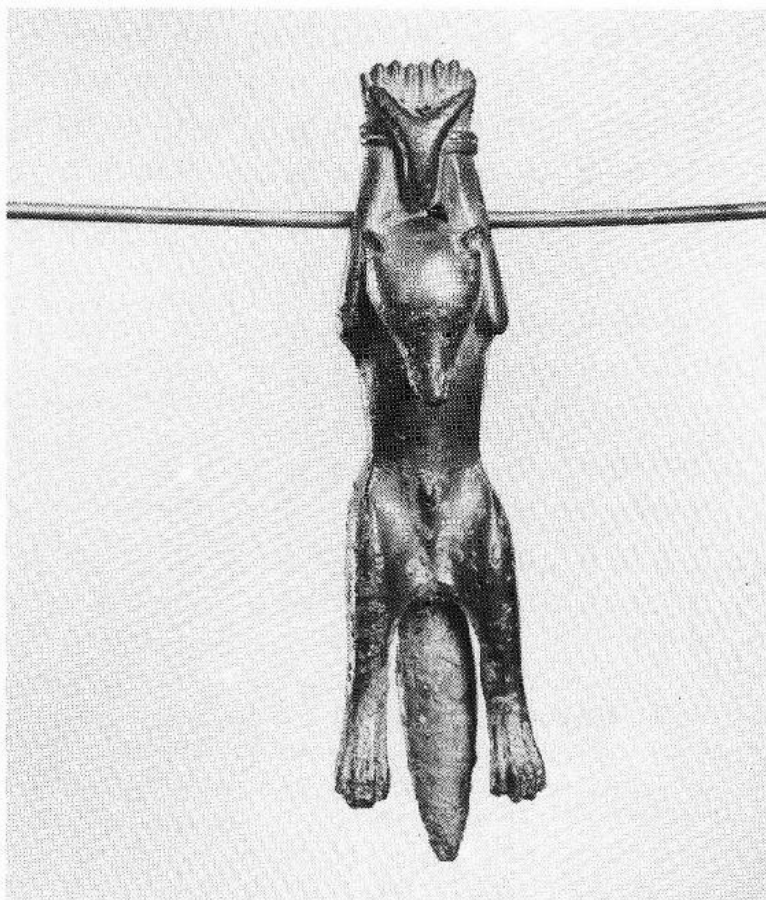


Fig. 16. Dead fox tied to a pole, National Museum Athens, No. 13054. Photo: German Archaeological Museum at Athens, Neg. No. Nat. Mus. 4129.

16

Non-mythological hunting scenes were especially favoured by vase-

painters of the later sixth and early fifth centuries B.C.

29

The meaning and function of the hunt as an educational custom of the aristocratic communities in Archaic Greece has lately been the subject of several studies which cannot be discussed here properly. For the ephebes of these societies hunting served as a means to learn and demonstrate ἀρετή and καλοκάγαθία, as well as an adventurous initiation to their life as adults.

30

The characters depicted on the vases of either Corinthian, Laconian, Boeotian or Attic origin are always the same: youths and/or adult bearded men dressed like the statuettes from our sanctuary are shown during different moments of the hunting adventure.

31

One bronze from the site depicts an image of one of the animals that was hunted: a dead fox neatly tied up to be presented to the gods (Fig. 16). On vase-paintings such representations of animals often appear in scenes where men present so-called love-gifts to their favourite youths, as, for instance, the cockerels held by the young men mentioned above.

32

17

The votive material from the sanctuary near the springs of the river Neda so far suggests a religious feast connected with ritualized hunting, which served to initiate youths to the role they were supposed to play as adults. Sacrifices and dedications were made to Pan, probably also to Hermes and possibly to Apollo; their aspects as gods of the wilderness and their connections with wild animals, hunting and initiation are well-known.

33

But can the clientele of the sanctuary be regarded as simple peasants? The valuable votive offerings seem to contradict this idea. It appears more likely that the families of an Arcadian rural aristocracy are represented in the sanctuary.

34

18

Finally, what about the iconographical roots of Pan? Although the site has yielded the earliest archaeological evidence for the god, only a single representation of him seems to have been discovered there. He

is shown as a nude young man holding a special club for hare-hunting, the λαγοβόλον, along his right arm. Only two small horns above the forehead distinguish the god from a mortal youth. This, however, is a rather late manner of representing Pan, which started around the turn of the fifth to the fourth century B.C.

35

19

The Attic black-figure monster on the krater fragments in Amsterdam dating to ca. 500–490 B.C. thus remains the earliest definite figure of the Arcadian god so far (Fig. 3).

36

Must we then assume that Pan received an aniconical cult in sixth-century Arcadia? It is notable that among the as yet unpublished terracottas from the sanctuary near the springs of the river Neda figurines of satyrs have been reported by the excavator.

37

If these were made in the sixth century like many of the other votives from the site, there is the possibility that these figurines once served as representations of demonic Pan. At that time possibly no one had yet invented a more specific form for the god. If so, Attic craftsmen have to be regarded as the inventors of the monstrous goat-man known from many vase-paintings and other objects of ancient Greek art. Their idea was not altogether new, though; it was rooted in the old tradition of representing demons, especially satyrs, which can be traced back to the beginning of the seventh century B.C.

38

Appendix

1. Finds from the excavation of K. Kourouniotis in 1902 stored in the Greek National Museum at Athens

A. Bronze Statuettes

20

Report 1902, 74. Report 1903, 169. Report 1904, 197, 213–14. Report 1910, 301–302, Fig. 19, 327, Fig. 51.

21

1. Moschophoros, no. 13053. *Athens Bronzes*, 311–12 (with Fig.). Lamb, *Statuettes*, 138, no. 8, PL 24. Lamb, *Bronzes*, 92, PL 31a.

22

2. Dead fox, no. 13054. *Athens Bronzes*, 317 (with Fig.). Lamb, *Statuettes*, 145, no. 42. Lamb, *Bronzes*, 92, PL 31d.

23

3. Wreathed naked youth, holding a cockerel, no. 13056. *Report 1910*, 302, Fig. 19. *Athens Bronzes*, 312–13 (with Fig.). Lamb, *Statuettes*, 140, no. 18. Ch. Zervos, *L'art en Grèce* (Basle 1937) Figs. 208, 210. E. Kunze, "Ein Bronzejüngling", *OlBer* 5 (1956) 98, n. 2, 101–102.

24

4. Youth wearing cloak and pilos, no. 13057. *Athens Bronzes*, 311. Jost, *Lykosoura*, 342–43, n. 12, Fig. 8. Lamb, *Statuettes*, 139, no. 16.

25

5. Standing woman, no. 13058. *Athens Bronzes*, 317–18 (with Fig.). Langlotz, *FGrBSch*, 87, no. 22, PL 49a. W. Lamb, "Excavations at Sparta 1906–1910. Notes on Some Bronzes From the Ortheia Site", *BSA* 28 (1926/27) 100, PL 12x.

26

6. Man wearing cloak and pilos, no. 13059. *Athens Bronzes*, 311. Lamb, *Statuettes*, 139, no. 14, PL 24. Jost, *Lykosoura*, 342–43, n. 12, Fig. 11.

27

7. Man wearing cloak and pilos, no. 13060. *Report 1910*, 327, Fig. 51. *Athens Bronzes*, 311 (with Fig.). Lamb, *Statuettes*, 138, no. 13, PL 24. Lamb, *Bronzes*, 93, PL 31c. Langlotz, *FGrBSch*, 30, 60–61, PL 28b. *Providence Bronzes*, 44, n. 14. Jost, *Lykosoura*, 342–44, Fig. 12.

28

8. Youth making an offering, wearing short chiton and pilos, no. 13061. *Athens Bronzes*, 313 (with Fig.). Lamb, *Statuettes*, 144, no. 32.

29

9. Man making an offering, wearing pilos, no. 13062. *Athens Bronzes*, 313 (with Fig.). Lamb, *Statuettes*, 137, no. 7.

30

10. Youthful naked Pan, holding lagobolon, no. 13063. F. Brommer, "Panbilder des fünften Jahrhunderts", *AA* 1938, 378, 381–82, Fig. 6. *Idem*, "Pan im 5. und 4. Jahrhundert v. Chr.", *Marburger Jahrbuch für Kunstwissenschaft* 15 (1949/50) 13–14, Fig. 11. *RE Suppl.* 8 (1956) 964–65, no. 7 s.v. Pan (F. Brommer).

31

1. *Report 1902*, 74. "... some represent gods or silenae, the others most probably peasants."

32

2. *Report 1903*, 169. "Together with these (*i.e.*, bronze statuettes) were found terracotta figurines comparable in general to the bronzes. Most of them represent male peasants, usually wrapped up in heavy cloaks and with their heads covered ..."

33

3. *Report 1904*, 213–14. "For the moment we shall not talk specifically about this (*i.e.*, Arcadian art), postponing it until the many bronze and terracotta small artefacts which we discovered in the sanctuary of Pan near Berekla have been published. These will sufficiently elucidate both the manner and the origin of this style."

34

4. *Report 1910*, 299–300. "The few terracotta figurines that have been found (*i.e.*, at Bassae) are altogether insignificant; it seems that they have been manufactured in some neighbouring Arcadian village, because at Berekla, too, similar figurines were found, most of them of a more remarkable kind, testifying to a particular style."

35

5. *Report 1912*, 160, Fig. 39. "The terracotta figurine illustrated in Fig. 39 from the Berekla excavation, which depicts a woman holding a little animal in the same way, is comparable. It lacks only the covering of the head." Note by the author: That this figurine certainly represents a male animal-bearer is clearly indicated by the beard.

36

6. L. Lehnus, *L'inno a Pan di Pindaro* (Milan 1979), 138, n. 23. "Paus. 8.37.11–12, ivi uno xoanon di Apollo (una cui statuetta, tra altri oggetti di coroplastica, si è rinvenuta nello ἱερόν di Pan Nomios – Paus. 8.38.11 – tra Liceo e Nomia, *cf.* K. Kourouniotis, *Prakt 1902*, 74; Nonn. 15.415–16)."

C. Bronze Silhouettes in Human And Animal Shape

37

Report 1910, 308. "During my excavation of the temple of Pan at

Berekla several similar reliefs were found representing human figures and animals which have not yet been published.” Note by the author: Kourouniotis also discusses here similar finds from Bassae, one of which (the silhouette of a kouros) is illustrated *loc. cit.*, Fig. 24.

D. Terracotta Relief

38

Hunter wearing chlamys and pilos, chasing a boar with a dog, no. 13087. P. Jacobsthal, *Die melischen Reliefs* (Berlin 1931) 185, no. 3, Pl. 70.

E. Miniature Mirrors (Bronze Silhouettes)

39

Jost, *Arcadie*, 187, n. 8. S. Karouzou, *National Museum. Illustrated Guide to the Museum* (Athens 1977) 103. “The three insignificant pieces of metal in the shape of a simple mirror were humble dedications by women.”

F. Pottery

40

Report 1904, 178. “The excavations in Arcadia so far have shown that painted vases were not so widespread in that region; they have not been found either at Lycosoura or at Tegea, Mantinea, Megalopolis or Lousoi. My excavations of the sanctuary of Pan near Berekla and of the temple of the Parrhasian Apollo have proven, that they were, however, not altogether unusual, at least at the sites on Mount Lykaion. On the first site one blackfigured lekythos and a few other pieces of similar blackfigured vases have been found ...”

G. Miniature Marble Base for a Bronze Statuette

41

Report 1910, 301–302, Fig. 20. “The manner in which these small statuettes were put up on plinths is visible in the illustration opposite of a figurine of Apollo (Athens, National Museum no. 13056, *cf.* app. no. 1.A.3), which we draw from the forthcoming publication of the statuettes found next to the temple of Pan at Berekla. The small plinth was fastened by two nails onto another slightly larger base, which might have been of a different shape, but on the bottom always

had small projections either shaped like circular loops, as on the statuette in Fig. 19 (*cf.* AZ 1881, PL 2), or like legs (*cf.* *ArchEph* 1904, 213, Fig. 29). The larger base was set into the depression on top of a small pillar-base, similar to the one illustrated in Fig. 20, which was found in the temple of Pan at Berekla; it was fastened with lead which, poured into the circular loops or onto the bend of the legs, kept a firmer hold on the statuette.

H. Inscriptions

42

Report 1902, 74. "The name of the god who owned the sanctuary was provided by an inscription on a small stone base, which was recognized as ΠΑΝΟΣ, and by a sherd with the votive inscription ΤΟΙ ΠΑΟΝΙ, which is the original spelling of Pan and, maybe, his local appellation in this place."

43

1. *IG* V2 (Berlin 1913) 143, no. 556. "ΟΣΤΡΑΚΟΝ Athenis conservatum. Saec. VI a.Chr. with profile drawing of the sherd and a facsimile of the inscription.

44

2. *Loc. cit.*, no. 557. "Parva basis (Athenas non transportata)", with a facsimile of the inscription.

2. Bronzes from the Site found before the Excavation

Athens, National Museum

45

1. Hermes Kriophoros, no. 12347. Perdrizet, *Criophore*, *passim*, Pl. 7. Lamb, *Bronzes*, 135, no. 2. Kunze, *CollStathatos*, 50–51, n. 4, no. 2.

46

2. Man wearing short chiton and pilos (Hermes?), no. 12348. Perdrizet, *Criophore*, 300, Pl. 8. Felten, *BrStat*, 239, Fig. 3, 243, n. 27.

47

3. Naked youth making an offering (Apollo?), no. 12349. Perdrizet, *Criophore*, 300, Pl. 8. Langlotz, *FGrBSch*, 69, no. 22, Pl. 35c. Thomas, *Athleten*, 105, nn. 477–80, Pl. 57, Fig. 2. *UMC* 2 (1984) 239, no. 431, Pl.

48

4. Hermes Kriophoros, no. 30552. Sambon, *Ex-Voto*, 20–21, Fig. 4. *Berlin Bronzes*, 67–68, no. 165, PL 23. *UMC* 5 (1990) 311, no. 263, PL 222 s.v. Hermes (G. Siebert).

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5. Hermes Kriophoros, no. 10781. *Berlin Bronzes*, 68, no. 165, PL 23. *LIMC* 5 (1990) 311, no. 266a s.v. Hermes (G. Siebert).

50

6. Man wearing boots and pilos, holding a ram, no. 10782. *Berlin Bronzes*, 69–70, no. 167, PL 24. N. Himmelmann, *Ideale Nacktheit in der griechischen Kunst*, Jdl Ergänzungsheft 26 (1990) 39, n. 82, Fig. 8. *UMC* 5 (1990) 311, no. 266d s.v. Hermes (G. Siebert).

51

7. Man wearing cloak and pilos, holding a dead fox, no. 10784. *Berlin Bronzes*, 70–71, no. 169, PL 25.

52

8. Man wearing boots, cloak and pilos, no. 10785. *Berlin Bronzes*, 71, no. 170, PL 25. Himmelmann, *HGenre*, 64, n. 171.

53

9. Man wearing cloak and pilos, no. 10786. *Berlin Bronzes*, 71–72, no. 171, PL 25. Himmelmann, *HGenre*, 64, n. 172.

54

10. Man wearing pilos, praying, no. 10780. *Berlin Bronzes*, 72–74, no. 172. Himmelmann, *HGenre*, 64, n. 170.

55

11. Youth wearing pilos, holding a ram, no. 10783. *Berlin Bronzes*, 70, no. 168, PL 26.

56

12. Naked youth, no. 10778. *Berlin Bronzes*, 74, no. 173, PL 27.

57

13. Naked youth, no. 10779. *Berlin Bronzes*, 75, no. 174, PL 27.

58

14. Bronze lamp with triton handle, no. 10787 (Misc.). J. D. Beazley “A Marble Lamp”, *BSA* 60/61 (1940/41) 48–49, Fig. 30.

15. Herm, Schimmel Collection (inv. no.?). *Boston Bronzes*, 27, no. 24. O. White Muscarella, ed., *Ancient Art. The N. Schimmel Collection* (Mainz 1974), no. 27. *UMC* 5 (1990) 296, no. 17 s.v. Hermes (G. Siebert).

New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art

16. Man wearing cloak and pilos, no. 08.258.7. Studniczka, *Phauleas, passim*, Pl. 4. *New York Bronzes*, 39–40, no. 58. *Small Sculpture in Bronze From the Classical World. An exhibit in honour of E. Hill Richardson* (Chapel Hill, N.C. 1976), no. 16 (G. K. Sams). Himmelman, *HGenre*, 64, n. 166.

17. Youth wearing boots and himation, holding a bow (Apollo?), no. 07.286.91. *New York Bronzes*, 41–42, no. 60. *UMC* 2 (1984) 239, no. 434, Pl. 217 s.v. Apollon (O. Palagia). Thomas, *Athleten*, 104–105, nn. 474, 480.

Paris, Musée du Louvre

18. Youth wearing cloak and pilos, no. Br. 4248. Sambon, *Ex-Voto*, 20, Fig. 2. Jost, *Lykosoura*, 341–43, Fig. 7.

Whereabouts Unknown

19. Man wearing pilos (Hermes?). Sambon, *Ex-Voto*, 19–20, Fig. 1.

20. Man wearing himation and pilos, holding a stick. Sambon, *Ex-Voto*, 20, Fig. 3.

21. Youth wearing boots, himation and pilos, offering a vessel with fruit. Sambon, *Ex-Voto*, 21, Fig. 5.

3. Bronzes of Uncertain Provenance, Possibly From Berekla (Neda)

Athens, National Museum

1. Hermes, "from Ithome, Messenia", no. 7539. A. de Ridder, *Catalogue des bronzes de la Société Archéologique d'Athènes* (Paris 1894) 149, no. 832, Pl. 4, Fig. 1. Lamb, *Statuettes*, 138, no. 9, Pl. 24.

67

2. Hermes Kriophoros, no provenance stated, Stathatos Collection St. 328. Kunze, *CollStathatos*, 50–58, no. 16, Pls. 6–7. H. F. Mussche, ed., *Monumenta Graeca et Romana* 5.1: C. Rolley, *Die Bronzen* (Leyden 1965) 5, no. 52, Pl. 16. UMC 5 (1990) 311, no. 270 s.v. Hermes (G. Siebert).

68

3. Naked youth, hunting, "from Andritsaina", no. 7410. De Ridder, *MusNat*, 6, no. 1, Fig. 1.

69

4. Naked youth, holding cockerel, "from Megalopolis", no. 7408. De Ridder, *MusNat*, 8, no. 3, Figs. 4–5. Lamb, *Statuettes*, 144, no. 33. H.G. G. Payne, "A Bronze Herakles from the Benaki Museum at Athens", *JHS* 54 (1934) 171, Fig. 5. V Poulsen, "Der Strenge Stil", *ActaArch* 8 (1937) 36. Langlotz, *FGrBSch*, 56, no. 37, Pl. 29a.

Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery

70

5. Youth wearing petasos, holding ram, praying, "first known in England, ultimate source unknown", no. 54.2323. D. Kent Hill, "A Greek Shepherd", *JWalt* 11 (1948) 19–23, 85, Figs. 1–2. *Baltimore Bronzes*, 123–24, no. 284, Pl. 55. Himmelfmann, *HGenre*, 65, n. 177, Pl. 7. UMC 5 (1990) 311, no. 270 s.v. Hermes (G. Siebert).

71

6. Beast, caught during a hunt (?), no provenance stated, no. 54.1488. *Baltimore Bronzes*, 123, no. 283, Pl. 54. Boston, Museum of Fine Art

72

7. Hermes Kriophoros, "from Arcadia", no. 04.6. *Boston Bronzes*, 24–25, no. 22. *Delight Cat.*, 77–81, no. 8.

73

8. Hermes Kriophoros, "from Sparta", no. 99.489. *Boston Bronzes*, 26–26, no. 23. *Delight Cat.*, 81–86, no. 9.

Cambridge Mass., Fogg Art Museum

74

9. Wreathed man, wearing cloak, "from Rhousopoulos at Argos", no.

1965.533. *Fogg Art Museum. The F.M. Watkins Collection* (Cambridge Mass. 1973) 20–21, no. 4 (J. W. Brinnon).

Essen, Museum Folkwang

75

10. Man wearing cloak and pilos, no provenance or inv. no. stated. J. Fink, *Griechisches Kunsthandwerk* (Mainz 1951) 47, Fig. 25.

New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art

76

11. Man wearing cloak and pilos, holding a ram and a jug, “once in the London market”, no. 43.11.3. Richter, *Aineas, passim*. Himmelmann, *HGenre*, 64. *LIMC* 5 (1990) 311, no. 265, PL 223 s.v. Hermes.

77

12. Man wearing boots, himation and pilos, holding a bird (dove?), “from Messenia”, no. 45.162. A. Sambon, “L’exposition d’art antique au Petit Palais”, *Le Musée* 2 (1904) 179, Fig. 14 left. G. M.A. Richter, “Two Archaic Bronze Statuettes”, *BMMA* 1945/46, 249, 251 (Figs.). Mertens, *Statuettes*, 45–46, Pl. 3, Figs. 1–2.

Paris, Musée du Louvre

78

13. Man wearing cloak and pilos, no provenance stated (ex-collection Nanteuil), no. 4274. Jost, *Lykosoura*, 343–44, Fig. 10.

79

14. Man wearing pilos, holding syrinx, “Arcadia” (ex-collection Nanteuil), no. 4249. C. Devés, “Bronzes antiques au Département des Antiquités Grecques et Romains”, *La Revue des Arts* 1956, 187, no. 2, Fig. 2.

Providence, Rhode Island School of Design, Museum of Art

80

15. Man wearing boots, cloak and pilos, “from Messenia”, no. 20.056. *Providence Bronzes*, 41–45, no. 12, Figs. a–f. Himmelmann, *HGenre*, 63–64, n. 165, 173, Pl. 6.

Collection W. C. Baker

16. Hermes Kriophoros, now in New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, no. 1972.118.67, “from the collection of Mme Melas”. *Baker Cat.*, 8, no. 20 (with Pl.). *Ancient Art Cat.*, 35, no. 60. *UMC* 5 (1990) 311, no. 261 s.v. Hermes (G. Siebert). *Delight Cat.*, 79, 82 Fig. 9a.

17. Hunter wearing pilos, “from Messenia”. A. Sambon, “L’exposition d’art antique au Petit Palais”, *Le Musée* 2 (1904) 178–79, Fig. 13. *Baker Cat.*, 8, no. 23 (with Pl.). *Ancient Art Cat.*, 35, no. 136. F. Eckstein, *Gnomon* 31 (1959) 641, no. 23 (“Herakles”). Collection E. De Kolb

18. Striding man, “from Arcadia, near Bassae”. A. Emmerich Gallery, New York. *Classical Art From a New York Collection. An Exhibition of Ancient Bronzes, Figurative Plastic Vases and Other Ancient Works of Art* (New York 1977), no. 64. *Master Bronzes*, no. 40.

Whereabouts Unknown

19. Youth wearing cloak, holding a ram, once on Athens Market, “Arcadian”. Photograph in the German Archaeological Institute at Athens, neg. no. Ath. Var. 963–64 (four views).

Notes

1 Pan as an Arcadian god: for the literary tradition see *Roscher* 3, 1349–50. s.v. Pan (WH, Roscher). Pan at the battle of Marathon: on the event, its effect and the sources see Borgeaud, *Cult*, 94–95, 133–162, 230–31, nn. 34–37, 243–256, nn. 1–178.

2 Amsterdam, Allard Pierson Museum nos. 2117–18. F. Brommer, *Satyroi* (Wurzburg 1937) 12, 50, n. 5 no. 1, 62, Figs. 3–4. K. Hitzl, *Die Entstehung und Entwicklung des Volutenkraters* (Frankfurt 1982) 340, no. 60. *Archaeological Collection of the University of Amsterdam. Gods and Men in the Allard Pierson Museum* (Alkmaar 1972), PL 7. Relation Pan-Hermes: Borgeaud, *Cult*, 66–67. Pan, satyrs and maenads as representative “attributes” of Hermes and Dionysos: compare the observations concerning erotes surrounding Aphrodite made by N. Himmelmann, *Zur Eigenart des klassischen Götterbildes* (Munich 1959) 14–15, 36, n. 7.

3 Dancing “goatmen” or “upright” goats have been interpreted as “tragikoi choroi” or typological forerunners of the earliest representations of Pan: *RE* Suppl. 8 (1956) 953 s.v. Pan (F. Brommer). R. Hampe, in review of *OlBer* VII, *Gymnasium* 72 (1965) 77-79, however, made clear that Brommer’s ideas were misinterpretations. Th. Hadzisteliou Price, “‘To Be or Not to Be’ on an Attic Black-Figure Pelike”, *AJA* 75 (1971) 432, Pl. 94, Fig. 6 identified a goat dancing on its hind legs as Pan, without explaining the reason. The scene belongs to a group of similar representations on Attic vases discussed recently by F. Lissarague, “Les satyres et le monde animal”, in J. Christiansen and T. Melander, eds., *Proceedings of the 3rd Symposium on Ancient Greek and Related Pottery 1987* (Copenhagen 1988) 339-40, 350, nn. 38-45, 343, Fig. 7, referring to further examples. For the kalpis in Cape Town see J. Boardman and M. Pope, *Greek Vases in Cape Town*, South African Museums Guide 6 (1961) 9, no. 4, Pl. 3. Compare also a lekythos in Zurich: H. P. Isler and M. Sguaitamatti, eds., *Archäologisches Institut der Universität Zürich. Die Sammlung Collisani* (Zurich 1990) 124-25, no. 180, Pl. 28. These scenes have not yet been satisfactorily interpreted, but there is no evidence that one of the goats depicted there might represent Pan. On the cult of the goat’ in Mycenaean times see A. B. Cook, “Animal Worship in the Mycenaean Age”, *JHS* 14 (1894) 150-52.

4 Sambon, *Ex-Voto*, 19. Studniczka, *Phauleas*, 66-67. E. Robinson, “Department of Classical Art. The Accessions of 1908, 3: Bronzes”, *BMMA* 1909, 78, 81, Fig. 4. *Berlin Bronzes*, 67-75, nos. 165-74, Pls. 23-27. See also app. nos. 2.1-21.

5 Perdrizet, *Criophore, passim*, Pls. 7-9 (app. nos. 2.1-3). For the possibility that the youth once held a bow, see *infra* n. 22.

6 In antiquity this region of the Lykaion mountains was called Kerausion, see J. G. Frazer, *Pausanias’s Description of Greece* 4 (London 1913) 392, on Paus. 8.41.3. *RE* 11 (1921) 271 s.v. Kerausion (F. Bölte). *RE* 13 (1927) 2235 s.v. Lykaion (E. Meyer). *RE* 16 (1935) 2170 s.v. Neda (E. Meyer). For the excavation see *Report 1902*. For the provenance of the three statuettes (*supra* n. 5) see *Report 1904*, 207-208, n. 1.

7 Hardly anything of the ancient architecture is visible today, except for some fragmentary limestone and marble blocks. P. B. Broucke recently identified a stoa which he dated tentatively to the late fourth century B.C./early Hellenistic period: *AJA* 95 (1991) 330-31. Only a few blocks of one of the cisterns mentioned by Kourouniotis seem to be *in situ* today, ca. 200-300 m NW of the site. A shepherd boy from Neda showed me the way.

8 App.no. 1.H.1,2. The sanctuary is not to be identified with the sanctuary of Pan at Melpeia in the Nomian Mountains mentioned by Paus. 8.38.11. See *Report 1903*, 169, η. 1. Also *RE* 17 (1936) 821 s.v. Nomia (E. Meyer). Noted by Borgeaud, *Cult*, 208, n. 52, and Jost, *Arcadie*, 179, n. 3. Nor can it be related to the precinct of Pan in the sanctuary of Zeus on Mount Lykaion (Paus. 8.38.5): see F. Eckstein, *Gnomon* 31 (1959) 641, no. 20. *RE* 13 (1927) 2239, 2246 s.v. Lykaion (E. Meyer). Borgeaud, *Cult*, 181, 262, n. 40, erroneously connects the votive inscription on the sherd with the statuette dedicated by Phauleas (app. no. 2.16). Moreover, his illustration *loc. cit.*, 139, Fig. 12,

does not show the Phauleas-statuettes, but the one dedicated by Aineas (app. no. 3.11); this also should not be confused with the inscription on the sherds.

9 See the preliminary catalogue in the appendix below. Whether or not the bronzes app. nos. 3.1-19 belong to the votive complex does not alter the picture based on material whose provenance from the sanctuary is certain.

10 App. no. 1.A.5 (statuette of a woman) and app. no. 1.E (miniature bronze mirrors). This aspect of the sanctuary cannot be discussed in this paper.

11 Cloaks: app. nos. 1.A.6-7; 1.B.5; 2.7-9, 16; 3.13, 15. Short chitons: app. nos. 1.A.1; 2.2. Himation: app. nos. 3.12, 18. Naked except for hat and/or boots: app. nos. 1.A.9; 2.6, 10; 3.14, 17. For the hats see *RE* 11 (1922) 2518-19 s.v. ΚΥΝΕΨ no. 2 (H. Lamer). *RE* 20 (1950) 1330-33 s.v. πῖλος (R. Kreis-v. Schaewen).

12 Ram: app. nos. 2.6; 3-11. Calf: app. no. 1.A.1. Fox: app. no. 2.7. Bird (dove?): app. no. 3.12. Syrx: app. no. 3.14. For the syrx as a votive object compare statuettes of kouroi in Athens and London: Thomas, *Athleten*, 126-28, Pl. 78, Figs. 1-2. The syrxes held by these kouroi have led to their identification as shepherds or simple peasants. Also compare the terracotta figurine of a man wearing a pilos, playing the syrx, from another Arcadian sanctuary: H. Metzger, "Le sanctuaire de Glanitsa (Gortynie)", *BCH* 64/65 (1940/41) 27, no. 5, Fig. 10.

Covered hands: app. nos. 1.A.6-7; 2.9, 18, 20 (one hand only); 3.9, 13, 15. Mertens, *Statuettes*, 45, explains this as an "attitude de prière", while Himmelmann, *HGenre*, 64, n. 172, and Jost, *Lykosoura*, 344, n. 16, think that with this gesture the men are simply keeping their coats closed.

Terracotta representations: app. nos. 1.B.5 (statuette), 1.D (relief with hunting scene). The scene on the relief is very similar to the boar hunt on an Attic black-figure amphora at Altenburg: Schnapp, Sanglier, 211, n. 31, 215, Fig. 12. Also compare a similar representation from a sanctuary at Glanitsa (sheet bronze silhouette): H. Metzger, "Le sanctuaire de Glanitsa (Gortynie)", *BCH* 64/65 (1940/41) 21-25, no. 3, Pl. 3, Fig. 2.

13 Phauleas: app. no. 2.16. Inscription: L. H. Jeffery, *The Local Scripts of Archaic Greece* (Oxford 1961) 210, 215, no. 7. Aineas: app. no. 3.11. Inscription: Jeffery, *loc. cit.*, 210, 215, no. 7. Himmelmann, *HGenre*, 64, assumes that the jug held by Aineas contains milk.

14 App. no. 1.H.1. See also *supra* n. 8.

15 Cloaks: app. nos. 1.A.4; 2.18. Short chitons: app. no. 1.A.8. Himation: app. nos. 2.17, 21; 3.19. Naked except for hat: app. nos. 2.11; 35. Naked: app. nos. 1.A.3; 2.3, 12-13; 3.3-4.

16 Wreath/cockerel: app. no. 1.A.3. Cockerel: app. no. 34. Ram: app. nos. 2.11; 35, 19. Vessel with fruit: app. no. 2.21. Herakles-/Zeus-posture: app. nos. 3.3, 17.

17 App. no. 1.C.

18 *Supra* n. 5. App. no. 2.1.

19 From the sanctuary: app. nos. 2.4-5. Provenance unclear: app. nos. 3.1-2, 7-8, 16. One of the Boston figures, for instance, has allegedly been found in Arcadia and was

later acquired by the Museum from the collection of E. P. Warren who once also owned the votive statuette of Phauleas (*supra* n. 13) and a herm (*infra* n. 21), both of which have indubitably been found on our site. On the dubious statements of the dealers and the provenance of the bronzes see the remarks of D. G. Mitten, *Providence Bronzes*, 44, 45, nn. 20-21.

20 Boots without wings: app. nos. 2.5; 32.

21 App. no. 2.15. The possible identification of the moschophoros in Athens (Figs. 9-11, *supra* n. 12, app. no. 1.A.1) as a representation of Hermes cannot be discussed here. The votive statuette of Aineas (*supra* n. 13) listed in a catalogue of representations of Hermes in *LIMC* 5 (1990) 311, no. 265 s.v. Hermes (G. Siebert), does not belong there. On the statuettes of kriophoroi see Himmelmann, *HGenre*, 72-74.

22 Youth holding bow from the site: app. no. 2.17. Second youth who possibly held a bow: *supra* n. 5 (app. no. 2.3). The bow is usually understood as an attribute definitely characterizing Apollo, see *Delight Cat.*, 53-57, no. 2, for the discussion of the statuette dedicated by Mantiklos to Apollo: "... the pose corresponds so well with the dedication's inscription of Apollo as an archer that the identification of the statuette as a representation of the god is clearly warranted." On this question see also W. Fuchs, "Eine Bronzestatuetten im Lateran", *RM* 64 (1957) 227-28, n. 24. Thomas, *Athleten*, 104-105, n. 478 (noting that the youth, *supra* n. 5, app. no. 2.3, not necessarily once held a bow), and recently A. F. Stewart, "When Is a Kouros Not an Apollo? The Tenea Kouros Revisited", in M. A. del Chiaro and W. R. Biers, eds., *Corinthiaca. Studies in Honor of D. A. Amyx* (Columbia 1986) 54-70. F. Brommer, "Gott oder Mensch", *Jdl* 101 (1986) 37-53. N. Himmelmann, "Frühgriechische Jünglinge", in *Herrscher und Athlet. Die Bronzen vom Quirinal* (Milan 1989), 78. See further the puzzling side B of an amphora by the Amasis painter in Berlin where two youths holding bows are standing next to Hermes, accompanied by dogs: D. v. Bothmer, *The Amasis Painter and his World. Vase-Painting in Sixth-Century Athens* (New York and London 1985) 90-92, no. 9. The problem has not yet been solved, but cannot be further discussed here.

23 App. no. I.G.

24 App. nos. 1.B.1, 6.

25 App. no. 2.14. Many terracotta lamps of this type have been found at Corinth. See, for instance, D. A. Amyx and P. Lawrence, *Corinth VII, Pt.2: Archaic Corinthian Pottery and the Anaploga Well* (Princeton 1975) 98, 161, no. An 327, Pls. 83, 112, and A. Newhall Stillwell, *Corinth XV, Pt.2: The Potters' Quarter. The Terracottas* (Princeton 1952) 257-58, nos. 28-35, 254, Fig. 3, PL 55, ranging in date from the second half of the seventh to the middle of the sixth century B.C. For the handle compare a closely related example at Boston formerly in the E.P. Warren collection: *Boston Bronzes*, 179, no. 214. Also compare a handle-ornament at Naples: J. de Foville, "Méduse", *Le Musée* 1 (1904) 269, Fig. 1. L. Rocchetti, "Due bronzetti del Museo Archeologico di Firenze", *ArchCl* 13 (1961) 121, n. 5, PL 62, Fig. 1.

26 Lamb, *Bronzes*, 92: “Very pious are the Arcadian shepherds: they bring the best of their flock as an offering.” Richter, *Aineas*, 5: “... rustic, spontaneous character ... a good picture of the shepherds and peasants who roamed the mountains of Arcadia Jost, *Arcadie*, 467: “Une série d'ex-voto en bronze, qui proviennent d'un petit sanctuaire de Pan voisin de Berekla, sur les pentes du Lycée, montre que la clientèle du dieu se recrute essentiellement dans le monde des éleveurs et des petits bergers. [...] ils évoquent le climat rude des montagnes parrhasiennes.” Gehrke, *Staatenwelt*, 153: “Die spezifisch ländliche, durch Kleinbauern- und Hirtenleben geprägte einfache Frömmigkeit spiegeln auch die arkadischen Votivstatuetten mit ihren reichen rustikalen Motiven.” Himmelman, *HGenre*, 64, for the first time noted aristocratic traits in some of the statuettes, reflected by their nudity: “Selbst unter den arkadischen Hirten ... würde demnach die volkstümlich realistische Richtung der Gattung durch aristokratische Ideale durchkreuzt.”

27 Himmelman, *HGenre*, 71-75. Some further representations of kriophoroi: NSc 1913, 119-24, Figs. 159-64 (from Medma). F. Tini Bertocchi, “Considerazioni sui criofori di Medma”, *Klearchos* 5 (1963) 7-17. D. Adamesteanu, “Problèmes de la zone archéologique de Métaponte”, *RA* 1967, 16-17, Fig. 9 (bronze statuette from the temple of Apollo at Metapont). Possibly from the site of ancient Sicyon: W Vischer, “Anciens bronzes grecs”, *Memorie dell'Istituto di Correspondent Archeologica* 2 (1865) 405-407, PL 12, no. 3. Bronze statuette in the Bibliothèque Nationale Paris: *LIMC* 5 (1990) 311, no. 269, PL 223 s.v. Hermes (G. Siebert). A Boeotian terracotta figurine of a man wearing a pilos standing next to a ram: R. Lullies, *Eine Sammlung griechischer Kleinkunst* (Munich 1955) 48, no. 127, PL 52. Later representations: NSc 1977, 482, 484, Fig. 65 (terracotta figurine from Torre del Mordillo in Calabria). See further the shepherd carrying a lamb from the group of bronzes found at Ampelokepoi/Athens: E. G. Raftopoulou, “Remarques sur des bronzes provenant du sol grec”, in *Bronzes hellénistiques et romains. Tradition et renouveau. Actes du 5^e Colloque International sur les bronzes antiques, Lausanne 1978* (Cahiers d'Archéologie Romande de la Bibliothèque historique vaudoise 17, 1979) 44-45, n. 23, PL 18, Fig. 13.

28 Kyathos by Theozotos: Himmelman, *HGenre*, 55, Pls. 4-5. Also compare the herdsman on a Boeotian bronze plaque of the seventh century B.C.: *loc. cit.*, 52-53 (with fig. and further reference). Shepherds in Arcadia: Borgeaud, *Cult*, 15-16. Gehrke, *Staatenwelt*, 152-54. Shepherds in vase painting: Himmelman, *HGenre*, 53-55, 65-67, Pls. 2-3, 11-15. Representations of hunters: see the “ΘΕΡΥΤΑΙ” on the cup of Ergotimos in Berlin: K. Schefold, *Göter- und Heldensagen der Griechen in der spätarchaischen Kunst* (Munich 1978) 74, Fig. 90, and especially the terracotta relief from our sanctuary (*supra* n. 12, app. no. I.D, Fig. 12). For further representations see *infra*, nn. 31, 32.

29 Schnapp, *Caccia*, 42. Rich illustrative material is presented in the essays of A. Schnapp (see bibliography).

30 J.-L. Durand and A. Schnapp, “Schlachtopfer und rituelle Jagd”, in *Die Bilderwelt der Griechen. Schlüssel zu einer fremden Kultur* (Mainz 1984) 86–91. Schnapp, *Caccia*,

51-54, nn. 37, 39. *Hommes, dieux, et héros de la Grèce* (Rouen 1982) 189-190. For the Cretan customs described by Strabo (10.4.21) see H. Patzer, *Die griechische Knabenliebe*, SB Wiss. Ges. Univ. Frankfurt 19: 1 (Wiesbaden 1982) 72-73.

31 Amongst other examples see: Schnapp, *Caccia*, 43-47, Figs. 1-7. Schnapp, *Sanglier*, 198-99, Fig. 5 (Corinthian). C.M. Stibbe, *Lakonische Vasenmaler des sechsten Jahrhunderts v. Chr.*, Studies in Ancient Civilization 1 (Amsterdam and London 1972) 281, no. 220, PL 78, Fig. 1; 284, no. 275, PL 91, Fig. 2 (Laconian). J.-J. Maffre, "Collection P. Canellopoulos: Vases béotiens", *BCH* 99 (1975) 504-506, no. 26, Figs. 47-48 (Boeotian). Schnapp, *Sanglier*, 211-16, Figs. 10-13 (Attic), just to name a few. Some of the scenes by the Amasis painter are of particular interest: D. v. Bothmer, *The Amasis Painter and His World. Vase-Painting in Sixth-Century B.C. Athens* (London and New York 1985), nos. 2, 6, 8-11, 26.

32 Bronze fox from the site: app. no. 1.A.2. Dead foxes tied to poles are often carried by hunters on vase-paintings, see illustrations in the articles referred to *supra*, nn. 30-31. Add, for instance, an Attic lekythos from Vari: CM. Young, "Archaeology in Greece, 1936-1937", *JHS* 57 (1937) 125, PL 6, Fig. 3. Also compare a terracotta hunter carrying a hare, from Cyprus: K. Nicolaou, "Archaeological News from Cyprus, 1970", *AJA* 76 (1972) no. 22, PL 64, Fig. 14. On fox-hunting as part of the education of boys: Koch-Harnack, *Knabenliebe*, 93. A bronze animal from its position possibly comparable to the fox: app. no. 3.6. Wreathed youth with cockerel: app. no. 1.A.3 (*cf. supra* n. 17). On cockerels as love-gifts see especially Koch-Harnack, *loc. cit.*, 93-105. Dead fox and hare hanging beside an excited man caressing a boy: K. Schauenburg, "Erastes und Eromenos auf einer Schale des Sokles", *AA* 1965, 854, Fig. 3. Generally: A. Schnapp, "Eros auf der Jagd", in *Die Bilderwelt der Griechen. Schlüssel zu einer fremden Kultur* (Mainz 1984) 110-25.

33 Note the comparable character of the cult in the sanctuary of Hermes and Aphrodite at Syme Viannou in Crete: A. Lebessi, Τὸ ἱερὸ χοῦ Ἑρμῆ καὶ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης στὴ Σύμη Βιάννου 1.1: Χάλκινα κρητικὰ τορεύματα, Βιβλιοθήκη τῆς ἐν Ἀθήναις Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἑταιρείας, 102 (Athens 1985) 188-198 (for this reference I would like to thank P. Themelis). Hermes and Apollo as gods of initiation: J. N. Bremmer, "Adolescents, Symposium and Pederasty", in *Symptica. A Symposium on the Symposium* (Oxford 1990), 141, n. 47. G. Costa, "Hermes dio delle iniziazioni", in *Civiltà classica e cristiana* 3 (1982) 277-95. On Pan's relation to hunting see Borgeaud, *Cult*, 64-65. On Hermes and hunting see Lebessi, *loc. cit.*

34 On the social position of the kriophoroi from Cretan sanctuaries see A. Lebessi, "Der Berliner Widderträger — Hirt oder hervorragender Bürger?", in *Festschrift für N. Himmelmann* (Mainz 1989) 61-62.

35 On the earliest evidence on Pan see *supra*, nn. 13-14 (app. nos. I.H.I.; 2.16; 3.11). Statuette of Pan from the site: app. no. 1.A.10. On the "Polykleitan" Pan see D. Arnold, *Die Polykletnachfolge*, Jdl Ergänzungsheft 25 (Berlin 1969) 49-64, 247-52, nos. 1-16.

36 See *supra* n. 3. The head of a dancing silen on a fragment from an Attic kylix in

Catania, dating to ca. 530/520 B.C., looks very unusual: G. Rizza, "Stipe votiva di un santuario di Demetra a Catania", *BdA* 1960, 249-50, Fig. 9 bottom left.

37 App. no. I.B.I.

38 For a sixth-century representation the horse-legged "ΣΙΑΕΝΟΙ" on the François Vase: *BdA*, série spéciale 1 (1977) 141, Fig. 92, 170, Fig. 137. The earliest Greek representation of a comparable demonic type depicts the figure with "human" legs, though: F. Lo Porto, "Ceramica della necropoli di Tor Pisana", *AttiMGrecia* 5 (1964) 120-25, no. 4, Fig. 3, Pl. 37. Recently J. L. Benson, *Earlier Corinthian Workshops. A Study of Corinthian Geometric and Protocorinthian Stylistic Groups*, Allard Pierson Series, Scripta Minora 1 (Amsterdam 1989) 50, n. 2. To the bibliography add K. Fittschen, *Untersuchungen zum Beginn der Sagenarstellungen bei den Griechen* (Berlin 1969) 54, n. 275, 142, n. 704i.

Endnotes

* The following is an enlarged version of the paper read during the seminar held at Delphi. The subject has been partly discussed in my *Studien zu frühen Pandarstellungen* (unpublished M.A. thesis, Bonn 1982). I am grateful to all my colleagues from the German Archaeological Institute at Athens, especially K.-V and E. D. von Eickstedt, and from the Excavation House at Olympia for their encouragement to take up these studies again. This paper is, however, only a preliminary report pending the final publication of the material excavated by K. Kourouniotis for the Greek Archaeological Society in 1902. I am most grateful to the Greek authorities, especially to G.S. Dontas and B. Ch. Petrakos, for their generous permission to study and publish these finds.

The material poses various problems and aspects. In this preliminary paper, however, many questions cannot be discussed or even mentioned, such as dates, styles, some antiquaria, etc. The passages from the reports on the excavations by K. Kourouniotis have been translated into English by the author. Numbers of the catalogue in the appendix below are referred to as app. nos.

The seminar at Delphi was an exciting experience and a great chance to discuss the subject with colleagues from all over the world. I would like to thank the participants for their interest, especially D. G. Mitten and P Themelis for important advice. A. and K. Dickey checked the original version of the English; the final text was checked by P A. Mountjoy.

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Programme of the Seminar

Friday, 16th November, 1990

1

17.30 Opening Session

2

Formal addresses

3

18.00 First Session. Chairman: I. Loucas

Nanno Marinatos (Athens): *The iconography of cult*

Brita Alroth (Uppsala): *Changing modes of representation of cult images*

Folkert van Straten (Leiden): *The iconography of epiphany*

Kevin Clinton (Ithaca, New York): *The “omphalos” of Eleusis*

Saturday, 17th November, 1990

4

10.00 Visit to the archaeological site and the museum of Delphi

5

17.00 Second Session. Chairman: R. Hägg

Petros G. Themelis (Rethymnon): *The cult scene on the polos of the Siphnian caryatid at Delphi*

Ioannis Loucas (Athens): *Meaning and place of the cult scene of the Ferrara crater T128*

Annie Verbanck-Piérard (Mariemont): *Herakles at feast: a mythical or cultic iconography?*

6

19.00 Third Session. Chairman: Olga Palagia

Eveline Loucas-Durie (Athens): *Some comments on the scene on the cabiric vase Athens, N.M., 424*

Charlotte Scheffer (Stockholm): *Boeotian festival scenes: competition, consumption and cult*

Gullög Nordquist (Uppsala): *Music in Greek cult scenes*

Sunday, 18th November, 1990

7

9.00 Fourth Session. Chairman: K. Clinton

Robin Hägg (Athens): *A scene of funerary cult from Argos*

Ulrich Sinn (Athens): *The sacred flocks of Artemis Hemera at Lousoi*

Ulrich Hubinger (Athens): *The cult of Pan on Mt. Lykaion*

Olga Palagia (Athens): *Cult and allegory: the life story of Artemidoros of Perge*

8

11.30 Fifth Session. Chairman: P. Themelis

Final discussion

Conclusions of the Seminar, by K. Clinton

Participants

9

Brita Alroth, Uppsala

10

Kevin Clinton, Ithaca, New York

11

Gunnel Ekroth, Stockholm

12

Johan Flemberg, Uppsala/Athens

13

Robin Hägg, Athens

14

Sven von Hofsten, Stockholm

15

Ulrich Hübinger, Olympia/Athens

16

David Jordan, Athens

- 17 Ioannis I.oucas, Athens
- 18 Éveline Loucas-Durie, Athens
- 19 Nanno Marinatos, Athens
- 20 David Mitten, Athens/Cambridge, Mass.
- 21 Gullög Nordquist, Uppsala
- 22 Olga Palagia, Athens
- 23 Michael Pettersson, Göteborg
- 24 Maria Pipili, Athens
- 25 Ewa Samuelsson, Stockholm
- 26 Charlotte Scheffer, Stockholm
- 27 Ulrich Sinn, Athens
- 28 Anne Stewart, Athens
- 29 Folkert van Straten, Leiden
- 30 Petros Themelis, Rethymnon/Athens
- 31 Annie Verbanck-Piérard, Mariemont
- 32 Berit Wells, Lund/Göteborg

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